

A
REFVTATION

OF M. IOSEPH HALL
HIS APOLOGETICALL
DISCOVRSE, FOR THE
Marriage of Ecclesiasticall Persons,
directed vnto M. Iohn VVhiting.

IN WHICH

Is demonstrated the Marriages of Bishops,
Priests &c. to want all warrant of Scriptures
or Antiquity : and the freedome for such
Marriages, so often in the sayd discourse
vrged, mentioned, and challenged
to be a meere fiction.

*Written at the request of an English Protestant,
By C. E. a Catholike Priest.*



Libertatem promittentes, cum ipsi sint serui corruptionis.

Promising freedome, whiles themselves are the
slaves of corruption. 1. Petr. 2.

Permissu Superiorum, M. DC. XIX.

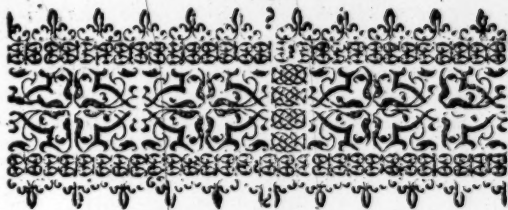


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AN
ADVERTISEMENT
TO THE READER.

WHEREAS according to the order
set downe in the ensuing Letter,
I had determined to adde another
Paragrasse to the former three, con-
teyning Adetction of M. Halls
errours, and ouersights in
writing, I found in the pursuit
therof so aboundant matter, as I could not comprize it all
within the narrow bounds of a Paragrasse; and increasing
so much vnder my hands, I resolved at length to set it out a
part, as amounting to more then what I haue already writ-
ten in answer of this Letter to M. Whiting, which be-
ing one entier Controversy, might perhaps better be set out
alone the conformed with other points nothing at all incident
to that matter, as are the other doctrinall Errours, Vn-
truths, Mistakings, Impostures, and other fraudulent, igno-
rant and malicious behaviour which I am forced to detect,
and wherewith all the Rapsodies of his Epistles that conteyn
any disputable question are fraught to the full.

*

Another

AN ADVERTISMENT

Deed. 3.
Epist. 5.

Another cause heereof was, for that a Gentleman lately come out of England, gaue me notice of other bookes of the same Authour, which I had not yet seene, and of one entituled, The peace of Rome, on which in particular dependeth very much of that which I haue written in the Detection, especially in refuting that most shameles assertion, that Bellarmin acknowledgeth vnder his owne hand two hundred thirty and seauen Contrarieties of doctrine amongst Catholiks: which is nothing els but 237. lyes in one assertion, if he meane as he must do, of points that belong to sayth and Religion, and not of matter vndecided and meerly disputable in Schooles. And yet further (which to one not acquainted with the forehead of Heretikes may seeme incredible) he auoucheth, the dissensions of Protestants to be only in ceremonies of the Catholiks in substance: theirs in one or two points, ours in all. Againe, ours is in the whole cloath, theirs only in the skirts &c. with more to the same effect. All which, or at least the chiefeest part, I meane the disagreement of Catholiks in fundamentall points, are as I suppose discussed in that worke, and I cannot so well refute his words in generall, vntill I see his speciall proofes that are made against our vinity, and the proper subiect of euery particular dissension.

Only heere to his generall charge, I retorne also in generall this answer: That neither he, nor all of his Sect set together can make this good: and in case he be so bold in his Peace, as he hath bene in his other VVritings, we shall find store of most impudent vntruths (for lying and detraction if it be for the aduancement of the Gospell seem with this Man to be meritorious works) and those deliuered with such audacity, as if they were most certaine and vncontrrollable truthtes: of which kind there be many discovered in the refutation of this Letter, but the number that remaine

TO THE READER.

remain is without comparison greater: which when I consider, together with his eminent ignorance, I cannot but greatly admire the scarcity of learned men in our Country, that could find no better Doctours to send to Dort Conference, to conclude the peace between the skirt-wrangling Brethren then M. Hall, no more to be compared with learned men, then a Pedlar with Merchants, a Pettifogger with Lawyers, a meer Pedanticall Grammarian with grave and learned Divines.

Were the matter in Controversy to be concluded with out-facing of lyes, M. Hall might sit for Arbitrator and Judge of the whole Assembly, & (vnles they be too shames) ouerbear them all. Of a mayne multitude which already I haue set downe in the Detection, I will touch one heer, and that only to discharge and cleare my selfe from that wherof I accuse him, I meane of detraction, and defaming his person. Let this then passe for an example which so confidently he writeth in his Quo vadis, or Censure of Trauell: where though he say that, A discreet man Pag. 41. will be ashamed to subscribe his name to that whereof he may be afterwards conuicted, yet Pag. 63. so indiscretly doth he deale, as he blusheth not to write in these wordes: What packets fly abroad of their Indian wonders? Euen Cardinall Bellarmine can come in as an auoucher of these cosenages, who dares auerre, that his fellow Xavier had not only healed the deafe, dumbe, and blind, but raysed the dead; whiles his brother Acoſta after many yeares spent in those parts, can pul him by the sleeue, and tell him in his care so loud, that all the world may heare him, *Prodigia nulla producimus, neq; verò est opus* &c. So M. Hall.

And I appeale to all the Ministers of Dort, whether they euer heard a more impudent vntruth. For first Aco-

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Ita was neuer in the East Indyes at all, nor Xavier in the VVest: and how then would Acolta spend many years in those parts where Xavier had liued? This is one lye, and that so long a one, as it reacheth as far as it is from the East to the VVest, or from the Artick to the Antartick Pole. Againe so far is Acolta from pulling Bellarmine by the sleecue, or disauowing the miracles of Xavier, as in this very worke he doth both acknowledge & confesse them for true. For thus he writeth: Conuertamus oculos in

Lib. 2. 10.

sæculi nostri hominem, B. Magistrum Franciscum virum Apostolicæ vitæ &c. Let vs cast our eyes vpon a man of our age, on B. Maister Francis (Xavier) a man of an Apostolicall life, of whome so many & so great miracles are recorded by many, and those approued witnesses, as there are scant recounted more or greater (vnles it be of the Apostles) of any. VVhat haue M. Gaspar (Berxæus) & other not a few of his Cōpanions done in the East Indies? How much haue they aduanced the glory of Gods power in conuerting that people by their miraculous workes? So far Acolta.

Out of whose wordes deliuered in so plaine, & honorable tearmes of this Blessed Man Francis Xavier, the Reader may see whether he were a fit wiines to be produced against the miracles of the sayd Father: whether he pull Bellarmine by the sleecue, and cry so loud in his eare, that all the world may heare him, or rather whether M. Hall do not most lewdly lye, and maliciously abuse his Reader in applying that to Xauerius which Acolta spake only of himselfe, and others then liuing with him in Perù, Brasil, Mexico, and the adioyning coasts, and assigneth the causes of their not working miracle, as I shall more fully declare when I shall come to handle this in the Ditection.

And euen now there is come to my handes a booke
written

TO THE READER.

written by one Collins in defence of Doctor Andrews. If Spenser the Poet were living, he might very well make another Collins Slowt vpon his slowerly discourse, so loose & loathsome, as will weary the most patient Reader, and withall so ignorant, railatue, and lying, as I wonder that it was permitted by priuiledge to come to the Presse, & was not suppressed with his other which he wrot against the Reuerend Father Andræas Eudemon-Ioannes. He is fortunate in the choice of his Aduersaries, for he singles out such as are singular; but in the combat he is weake, simple, and a meere prattler: this he shall better heare from him whome it concernes, then I shall need now to declare. Only this I must note in him, that———

—Et Platanus Platanis, Alnoq; affibilat Alnus. One egg is not more like another, then are these Ministers inlying. For this seely fellow in his Epistle to his Maiesty (of all others which euer I saw writen to a Prince the most beggarly) thus writeth of Cardinall Bellarmine.

He in his deuoutest Meditation of all others, his booke last set forth de æterna Felicitate (sayth M. Collins) will not excuse Kings from being murdered de iure (not only de facto) only he passes it ouer as a casus omisus, happily because auouched in his other Volums more peremptorily. So he. Insinuating that Bellarmine alloweth the murdering of Kings, not only de facto, but also de iure: for what other sense can his words beare, that he wil not excuse Kings from being murdered de iure? And againe when afterwards he sayth, The Cardinall not content with a death de facto, implyes that they may be slaine de iure too, but that it doth approve it? which is so far from the Cardinalls meaning, as he insinuateth the quite contrary. For haniug compared the Saints in heauen with Kings on earth, he commeth after to shew wherein the Saints do excell them: and putteth

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this for one point, that earthly Kings are subiect to many calamities, from which the Saints are exempted: and delineereth the difference in these wordes.

Lib. 1. c. 51

Deniq; potest etiam Rex subditos vinculis, carcere, exilio, flagris, morte mulctare: sed potest etiam Rex (de facto loquor, non de iure) vinciri, carceri mancipari, exilio, vulneribus, morte mulctari. Id verum esse probauit Iulius Cæsar, Caius, Nero, Galba, Vitellius, Domitianus &c. To conclude, a King may also punish his Subiects with feters, prison, banishment, whippings, and death: but the King also may be fettered (I speake de facto, not de iure) may be committed to prison, may be punished with banishment, wounds, and death. This did Iulius Cæsar find to be true, this Caius, Nero, Galba, Vitellius, Domitian &c. So Bellarmine. And let any beere iudge whether the Cardinall speaking de facto and not de iure, do not graunt the one, and deny the other? Graunt I say that such facts haue fallen out (and may vpon the wicked disposition of the people fall out againe) but not that they were lawfully done. VVhich is further confirmed by the other examples which he doth produce, of which some were good Princes, as Gordian, Gratian, Valentini- an the second, and others. Some also Saints, as S. Edward of England, S. Sigismund of Burgundy, S. Wenceslaus of Bohemia, and S. Canutus of Den- marke. And is it possible to conceaue that the Cardinall should affirme all these to haue beene lawfully murdered? And in case he had so imagined, why then did he interpose that negatiue exception, de facto loquor, non de iure, I speake of the facts which haue fallen out (for certaintie it is the forenamed Princes to haue beene slaine) but not of the lawfullnes of their killing? VVas it not, trow you, to excuse the Kings, and accuse the murderers? For if he would

haue

TO THE READER.

haue implied the contrary, or approoued it as lawfull, he would neuer haue spoken in this phrase of speech, but either haue concealed these words, or expressed his mind in other.

And it cannot but moue laughter to see, how this man geeth about to proue the immortality of Kings, and reprehendeth Bellarmine for saying only, that Kings *de facto* may be slaine, telling his Maiesty most sonally, that the Scripture leads vs to speake of Kings & Princes in another strayne, as if they, that ought not to be violated by any mortall hand, could not dye at all. So this grosse flattering Parasite. But where I pray you are those straynes? Sure I am he must strayne hard before he find any such on our Bibles. He alleadgeth the saying of Dauid, speaking of the death of Saul, How was he slaine, as it he had not beene annoynted with oyle? But doth this shew that *de facto* Kings, cannot be slaine? or rather doth it not shew the contrary? For heere you haue Saul a King, and yet *de facto* slaine, which is as much as the Cardinall doth affirme. But to this M. Collins very learnedly (scilicet!) replies, that Kings dye not as Kings but as men (*quatenus homines non quatenus Principes*) and so graunteth that Kings as men may be killed, but not as Kings. By which reason I will deny that any Minister, Cobler, Tinker, or Tapster may be killed, or dye at all. Or though some of these degrees come to be promoted to the gallowes, yet are they hanged as wicked men, not as Ministers, not as Coblers, not as Tinkers, not as Tapsters: for els all Ministers, Coblers, Tinkers, & Tapsters should be hanged, which were as you know a very pittifull case. And the like happeneth although they dye in their beds, for they do not dye because they are Ministers, Coblers, Tinkers, & Tapsters, which are accidentall qualities, but for that they are mortall men, and subiect to corruption.

But

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But I leaue him to his learned Aduersary, who yet as I perswade my selfe, if he read any one Chapter in him, will be more moued to contemne his writings then to answer them. And indeed he should to much iniure himselfe in case he should seriously go about to refute such an idle froth of indigested folly, or encounter with so base and babbling an Aduersary, whose pride, ignorance, & rusticity are such, as the one maketh him to reiect, the other not to discern the truth, and the last to forget all modesty, or good method in writing. S. Bernard speaking of Heretikes truly sayd: *Nec rationibus conuincuntur, quia non intelligunt; nec auctoritatibus corriguntur, quia non recipiunt; nec flectuntur suasionibus, quia subuersi sunt.* Such Ministers as M. Hall, M. Collins and the like, are not conuincd by reasons, because they vnderstand them not; nor amended by authorities, because they regard them not; nor moued by perswasions, because they are subueried. So be. And were it not for others of more indifferens iudgment, we should surcease from all labour of further writing: but their saluation we earnestly thirst, howsoeuer we distrust of these Ministers claime. And so much heereof. Now let vs come to the Letter it selfe.

Bernard.
serm. 66.
in Cantic.

THE



Very louing Syr,



THE letter you sent me by the English passenger came very late to my hands, which I impute to the negligence, or misfortune of him who should haue deliuered it, and it must excuse my delay in returning the Answer, which I suppose you expected sooner, and I acknowledge my selfe much indebted to your loue, who with such speciall courtesyes haue so kindly preuented me: for I haue receaued (though after some six moneths expectance) the Bookes you sent me, together with other remembrances at other tymes, and seeing that in lieu of better requitall you were content to haue my censure of M. Ioseph Hall his writings, presently vpon the newes of your a-riuall I tooke his workes into my hands (for before I had neuer read any thing of his) and opening the Booke I found by your selfe two leaues turned down before his epistle to M. VVbi-
sing, whereby I gathered your meaning to be
that I should peruse that letter with some atten-

The occasion of writing this letter.

A

tion,

tion, as debating a poynt much in controuersy betweene vs. I haue done as you desired, and examined all the passages brought for prooffe out of any author: which exact suruey hath drawne my letter to a greater length, so as it may seeme not a letter, but a Treatise. My end only is to giue you satisfaction, which if I performe, I shal not need to repent me of the labour, or you complaine I hope of the prolixity. If I be wanting therein, you must impute the fault where it is, to my insufficiency. If you be satisfied, to the force of Truth, & want of learning in *M. Hall* who giues so great & open aduantages as any Aduersary may easily refute him, I craue no more but indifferent hearing: let no fauour or disfauour ballance you: as you haue yielded one eare to him, so a little lend me the other: when you haue heard vs both to speake, you shall be the better able to iudge of both: and if the Truth delight you, there will, I trust, be no difficulty where to find it. I pray God there may be as litle to imbrace it, as I well hope there will not.

2. And although that much lesse be sayd in this matter I treat, then the thing it selfe would require, because my chiefest scope is only to reuel what *M. Hall* doth bring, and not throughly to discusse the mayne controuersy it selfe, vnles it be where his arguments giue me occasion of further enlargment: yet as the Sunne in dispersing the cloudsdoth shew it selfe to the sight of all, so likewise doth Truth in the detection of error, and remouing the falshood of hereticall sophistry (which like a veile cast before the eyes
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The Authors scope in the ensuing re-
futation.

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of the ignorant, no lesse darkeneth their witts
 then peruerteth their wills) so sufficiently ap-
 peare, as all may see the grounds of Protestants
 to be so weake as they cannot subsist, and by the
 same view perceauē also the truth to stand with
 vs: for according to the receaued rule of schools
verum vero non contradicit, truth cannot be contra-
 dictory to truth (because one extreme must
 needs be false in all true contradictions) & our
 assertion standing on these termes with the do-
 ctine of Protestants in disproving the falshoods
 which they bring, we also confirme the truth
 which we mayntaine, one necessarily follow-
 ing of the other: as if one should say, that M.
 Hall either is not a married Minister, or he is:
 if I proue that he is, I do therewithall disproue
 the negatiue that he is not: and if I proue that
 he is not, then I conuince the other part to be
 false which affirmeth that he is. Euen so in the
 marriage of Priests and Cleargy men, whereas
 he graunteth the free liberty allowed now in
 England for all to marry without controle, to
 haue bene still in vse for a thousand yeares to-
 geather after Christ, and thereupon concludeth
 his letter saying: *What God and his Church hath euer
 allowed, we do enioy*. If I proue that neither God,
 nor his Church euer allowed this carnal liberty
 in cleargy men, with the same labour I shew the
 single life for which I plead to haue bene still
 required, approued, vsed (speaking as M. Hall
 doth of the generall vse and approuance, for the
 abuse of particuler places without generall ac-
 ceptance is neither the voyce of God or doctin
 of his Church) and the vse of wines neuer with-

4 *An Answer to M. Halles Apology,*
out speciall abuse to haue beene permitted :

3. If in the prosecution thereof finding in
The manner of writing obserued against M. Hall. M. Hall so many paradoxes, vntruths, impertinencies, paralogismes, so much ignorance, immodesty, folly, scurrility, and other ill behauiour I may seeme sometymes to haue sharpened my pen to much, or dipt it a little too deep in gall, although I forbear all virulent tearmes, which in him are very frequent (as presently you shall see) and much more from all scolding words of disgracefull reproach, as *whores, strumpets, panders*, and the like (the vsuall rhetoricall flowers of this mans eloquence) yet I confesse that his malice and ignorance (both which in him do striue together for the preheminance) haue made me more earnest then I would haue beene, and in a manner forced me to offer violence to myne owne nature, knowne to such as best know me, not to be so much subiect to such bitternes, as well perceauing sharppes in words or writing to be the whetstone of dissentions, by which mens minds are soone moued, but hardly remoued from an immortall distast of ech other : and this hatred hereby begon betweene their persons becomes at last the hindrance of truth it selfe, and preiudice of whatsoeuer cause or controuersy shall be treated between them: and truly were the immodest termes hee vsed personall against my selfe, I should with contempt let them passe vnanswered, but being against the Vicar of Christ, the whole Church, most vertuous persons of particuler note, they require a sharper reiection; yet still in this acrimony I shall obserue the admonition of the
Comick

For the Marriage of Priests.

Comicke, *ne quid nimis*, to shoot rather too short
then too far at these rousers.

Teren. in
Andria.

4. Touching the order of writing, this
short table of the things treated, wil shew what
method I obserue. The letter to M. Vvhiting is
part by part answered, without the least preter-
mission of any one sentence or clause that mak-
eth for M. Halls purpose: no authority of Scrip-
tures, Canons, Councells, Fathers, Historyes,
or other writers is neglected: the whole is dis-
cussed, answered, refuted, and the whole dis-
cussion, answer, and refutation, for better per-
spicuity, is deuided into three parts or paragraphes
vnder these titles.

The order
observed
in this
letter.

*The doctrine of the Apostles expressed in Scrip-
ture, and alleadged by M. Hall for the marriage
of Priests, with his other proafes for their pra-
ctise, are examined and refuted: the vow of
Chastity is proued to be lawfull, and not impos-
sible.* §. 1.

*Of the testimonyes and examples of the ancient
Fathers, Councells, especially the Trullan, and
historyes produced by M. Hall for the maria-
ge of Priests and Clergy men.* §. 2.

*The later Part of M. Halls letter is examined:
the fiction of S. Vdalricus his epistle to Pope
Nicolas the first, is refuted: Gregory the
seaueneth defended: & withall is declared the
practise of our owne Countrey, euen from the
Conuersion vnder S. Gregory.* §. 3.

5. Further to satisfy your request, I haue

6 *An Answer to M. Halls Apology;*

added another paragaffe which containeth a more generall censure or suruey of *M. Halls* whole booke, not that I taxe or touch as much therof as deserueth correction (for some other more potent *Index expurgatorius* is necessary to blot out all the faults, and to purge either by water or fire this impure stable) but for that out of these which I haue taken, you may make a coniecture of the other which I haue left, and more fully be able to conceaue the worth of this writer, whome to me you haue so much extolled: for all his painted wordes serue to no other end, then to make the simpler sort to swallow down more greedily his poysoned pills, whiles they see them covered with such golden phrases of superficial cloquence, and vrged with so great shew of zeale, as if the man meant nothing but truth, whiles he plainly gulleth them with most open lyes. Of these thrids is this net wo-
uen, which catcheth so many of the weaker people, much like as *S. Hierom* sayth to the web of spiders, that catcheth weake flyes, & by birds and beasts is broken a sunder: *telam aranea texunt* (sayth he) *que parua & leuia potest capere animalia*: The Heretikes weaue a spiders web which is
* able to catch little and light creatures, as flyes
α gnats, or the like, but by others of more strength
α is broken in pieces: the light and more simple
α sort in the Church are deceaued by their errors,
* when as they cannot seduce such as are strong
in the truth of sayth. So he of all heretikes, and
I of *M. Hall*. Read what I write, & then belicue as you find; this Paragaffe is long and beareth this inscription.

*Hier. ep. ad
Cyprian.
Presbyt.*

A dete

A detection of sundry errors committed in M. Halles writings, which he shall do well either to amend, or els heereafter to be altogether silent. §. 4.

The length of the thing makes me sometyms, as occasion serues, to speake to M. Hall, sometyms to the Reader, sometyms to your selfe: no other thing is to be noted, and for that the rest is directed to you alone, I will not heere giue you the farewell, but referre that vntill I come to the end of the whole.

The doctrine of the Apostles expressed in Scripture, and alleadged by M. Hall for the marriage of Priests, and his other proofes for their practise, are examined and refelled: the vow of chastity is proued to be lawfull, and not impossible. §. 1.

BEFORE I descend to the particulars of M. Halls Apologeticall discourse for the marriage of Ecclesiasticall persons, this briefly in generall I must say thereof, that I haue not read a more loose, base, & ragged peece of worke, or so many impertinences couched together in so narrow roomē in any matter, or writer of cōtrouerfies which I haue scene betweene the Protestants & vs, as in this; which made me wonder to behold one so busy of so little ability: for the learning he euery where sheweth is lesse then meane though his malice be great, & doth still ouer reach his knowledge, and surpasse all modesty: but much more did I meruaile to see such passi-

A censure
of M. Halls
manner
of writ-
ting.

8 *An Answer to M. Halles Apology;*

ons so predominant in him as he could not contraynethem within some of the boundes of his owne Characters of morall Courtely, but was transported by their violence so far as to transgresse not Christian charity only, but euen the prescript of common ciuility, as euery where you will see: for in this short Letter, vpon no occasion or ground at al, he breaketh forth into such base and reproachfull tearmes, vseth such insultations and insolencies, such false accusations and impostures against Catholikes, as will loath any modest man to read, and must needs argue little wit, and good intention in the writer, who in so graue a matter is forced to stoop to so Ruffianly demeanour.

M. Halles
railatiue
speeches
taxed.

Lib. 2. f.
64.

7. And truly this base spirit seemeth to be so habituall in M. Hall, as I can expect nothing from him in case he should reply, but whole cart loads of contumelies, so fast they do flow from him, and so little power he hath to bridle these impetuous motions of his discomposed mynd, that notwithstanding in his vowes and meditations he say: *that if he cannot tame his passions that they may yield to his ease, yet at least he will smother them, by concealing that they may not appeare to his shame,* yet so vnable he is to do the one or the other, as that euen where shame should haue witholden him most, I meane in the pulpit deputed for the word of God, and instruction of the faythfull (in deliuey of which we can neuer be to graue or modest) euen there I say, he could not contrayn, but in two sermons hath vttered more vn-sauery filth, then the Iesuits, take them al together, haue done in two thousand, or in all the sermons.

Sermons of their sextant in print (so different are
 their spirits, & therefore no mervaille if he beare
 them such implacable hatred) for thus in one
 sermon he sayth: If ever you looke to see good dayes of
 the Gospell, the vnhorsing and confusion of that strumpet *Therisist*
 of Rome &c. Againce, dost thou thinke he sees not how me and
 smoothly thou hast dawbed on thyne whorish complexions? *Christians*
 and yet further, in belying the Iesuits, wherein he *ty pag. 55.*
 is copious without end, malicious without wit,
 and railatiue without measure. A poore wid-
 dows cottage (sayth he) fild the panch of that
 old Puarisy, how many faire patrimonyes of
 deuout yong gēdlemen drayd by them (pardon
 the word, it is their owne, the thing I know &
 can witnes) haue gone down the throats of these
Loyalists, let their owne *Quodlibet* and *Catechisme*
 report. And is it tolerable, trow you, thus with
 lying ribaldry to intertayne the people gathe-
 red to heare his sermon? is this the word of God
 which he doth preach? is this the modesty of
 the Gospell? and for the two books which he
 calleth their own, it is his own vnt ruth, for they
 were composed by their enemyes, I meane by
 men of as much credit as himselfe, and one of
 the writers publikly at his death recalled what
 he had written, and craued pardon of the *Iesuits*
 for the wrong; & of the world for the scandall
 which he had given by his bookes. But *M. Hall*
 himselfe will needs out of his kindnes forsooth
 enter for a wittnes in a thing which he doth
 know to be true, but this you must vnderstand
 to be only a Puritanical truth, which is nothing
 els but a starke lye, as in the last paragaffe shall
 be declared; for these men neither in printed
 bookes

bookes or pulpits are to be believed if they speak against Catholikes, specially if they raile against Iesuits, wherein they vse all lawlesse liberty, and in despite of truth will lye for the aduantage.

8. Which point is not only the triuiall subject of their ordinary sermons, I meane to lye, & passionate to vse such loathsome tearmes as none in such sermon of occasions would vse but themselues; but also in our Saviours Passions the most graue and holiest matters, as of our Saviours Passion, of all theames the most sacred, & that on good friday, at *Pauls Crosse*, they cannot refraine; so as no place, tyme, or theame is able to bridle the vnbridled passions of our English ministers: for this man speaking of pardons or Indulgences (which I thinke he vnderstandeth not) in his Passion sermon, he very modestly saith of the Catholike Roman Church, that *strumpet would well neer go naked if she were not*: and further talketh or rather tattleth of *Antichristian blasphemy, furious bulles that bellow out threats, and toss them in the ayre for heretikes*, and the like, much lesse bebecoming the pulpit, then a fooles cap the preacher. But of this dealing of his, I shall after haue more occasion to warn him, and by this little you may see how iustly now and then I am moued to vse a rough way to scoure so vncleane a vessell. Let him be more temperate and I will neuer be sharp: if stirred thereunto by his example I should obserue *Legationis*, let him thanke himselfe who without all example or occasion offered did first prouoke me thereunto, though yet notwithstanding his prouocation I intend not *paribus concurrere telis*, & encounter

encounter him in the like stile with *maledictum pro maledicto*, leauing that as hereditary to Protestants: my words shall still beleeue my selfe, haue modesty and truth for their characters, they shall offend no chaste eares, and as little as may be *M. Halls* patience (which yet I take to be very tender) vnles it be where he offends others of much better credit and esteeme then himselfe, and that also shall be rather for his correction that he may see his owne errour and amend it, then for any ill will I beare his person, or delight I take in that veyne of writing. But to proceed.

9. Although that *M. Hall* be euery where virulent against vs as you see, yet is the man very fauourable and ouerweening towards himselfe, for albeit he scant vnderstand the true state of the question he treateth, albeit he produce nothing but eyther by wrong interpretation misunderstood, or by corruption forged, or of it selfe counterfayt, and albeit he neuer bring true authority (one only excepted and that of no credit) that toucheth the controuersy, no argument that concludes, nothing in fine of any weight or moment; yet doth he so vaunt euery where ouer his aduersaries, so aduance himselfe, is so couragious and confident, as though he were some great *Goliath* waging war with *Pigmees*, and that his aduersaries were so far from withstanding his force, as they durst not stand before him, or endure his assault: for as though that God and man conspired in this without all contradiction, he telleth vs, that if

M. Halls Thraconi- call van- ting, though he performe nothing.

God shall be Iudge of this controuersy, it were soone at an end, and

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M. Halls Thraconi-
call van-
ting,
though he
performe
nothing.

and

and to vs he cryeth out, heare o ye papists the iudgement of your owne Cardinall, and confesse your mouthes stopped: and of himselfe, that if I fre not this trust let me be punished with a diuorce, yea so light doth this graue man make this controuersy, and the truth thereof on his behalfe so cleere, as though none but some Carpet knight did doubt of it, or dispute against it: some idle table talker (saith he) calls vs to p'ead for our wiues, perchance some gallants grudge vs one who can be content to allow themselves more, & for a scholler to refute table-talkes, or yong gallants, is as you know no great maistry, *nec habet victoria laudem.*

10. But presently forgetting his yong gallants and table-talkes, he bordeth vs and neuer leaueth vs till the end of the epistle, so as his whole scope is to disproue the single life of Catholike priests, and thereby to impugne our doctrine in that behalf: in which fynding other aduersaries then yong gallants, or idle table talkers, and stronger arguments then he knew how to dissolue, being on the one side vnwilling to be silent, and on the other notable to performe what himselfe desired and friends expected, like a right Crauen flyeth out of the feild, neuer so much as looking on the proofs for our assertion which to much affrighted him, as being all endorsed with a *noli me tangere*: but seeing many objections in *Beſarmyne* out of *Caluin*, *Melancthon*, the *Magdeburgians*, and others answered, and so answered as he could make no reply, the poore man was driuen to that exigent, as he was forced to borrow from thence the objections, but without any mention at all of any solution giuen by the Cardinall, and so he commeth forth with
his

his answered arguments, as with broken shafts, and flourisheth in the ayre, and vaunteth aboue measure.

II. You may thinke perhaps that I extenuate too much *M. Halls* learning, or exaggerate too far his insufficiency, for being reputed and taken for a scholler, he could not but see the discredit that would follow of such dealing: but in this I will make your selfe witnes, yea a iudge also, for the bookes themselves will speake, and there needeth no more in one who vnderstandeth Latin, then to bring his eyes & reade both Authors: for what place of Scripture doth *M. Hall* produce that is not there answered? there he shall see his text of the doctrine of *Diuels* explicated, there that other, *Let him be the husband of one wife*, there lastly, *how marriage is honorable in all*, and yet not lawfull betwene brother and sister, Father and daughter, frier and nunne, or in any person that hath vowed the contrary: there of the Apostles wiues in generall, & of *S. Pauls* in particular: for Councells there the Canon of the Apostles, and the sixth Synod, there Pope *Steuens* decree, there in fine is the history of *Paphnutius* reiected, the letter of *S. Vdalrick* disproued, the examples of married Bishops answered: so as there is all the sap and substance of this letter refuted, for on these thinges specially doth it rely, and yet as if nothing had beene sayd vnto them they are heer againe repeated, and *Bellarmino* not so much as once named in all the letter, but this silence proceeded of no ill policy: for he was loath to name the place from whence he had fetcht his store, least there the Reader should by his

M. Halle
argumēts
in *Bellarmino*
and
their solu-
tions dis-
sembled.

Bellar. de
Clericis l.
1. c. 20. &c.
1. Tim. 4.
1. Tim. 3.
Hebr. 13.

1. Cor. 9.
Philip. 4.

14. *An Answer to M. Halles Apology,*
his recourse haue found the answers, and disco-
uered his weaknes.

Great va-
nity and
ostentati-
on.

12. And the like policy he vseth in paint-
ing out his margent with Greeke & Latin sen-
tences, which to the simple who vnderstand
neither the one or other tongue maketh a great
shew of sincerity and learning: especially being
conioyned with so many resolute speeches, as
when he saith, *That he passeth not what men and
Angells say whiles he heares God say, let him be the husband
of one wife, that one word (saith M. Hall) shall confirme
me against the barking of all impure mowthes.* Againe,
*That if he conuince not all aduersaries, he will be cast in so
just a cause: with so many eager chargings of vs,
with burning, blotting out, cutting away, and peruer-
ting what we cannot answer. VVhat (sayth he) dare
not Impudency do? against all euidences of Greeke copies,
against their owne Gratian, against pleas of antiquity?
this is the readiest way, whome they cannot answer to
burne, what they cannot shift of, to blot out, and to cut the
knot which they cannot vntye: and last of all with
beating vs backe, as he would seeme with our
owne weapons: For besides the Scriptures, you
haue Conncells and those sacred, Fathers and
those ancient, the Popes decrees, Gratian the Ca-
nonist, the later Cardinalls, the Greeke Church,
and purer times: which names alone wherewith
his text and margent is stufte, being thus ranged
together, cannot but make great impression in
the eyes of the ignorant, who without further
enquiry (as being not able to search into these
matters) take all for true which with these cir-
cumstances are deliuered vnto them.*

13. But these are now, haue heretofore bene,
and

and wilbe alwaies the sleights of heretiks to couer a wolfe with a sheeps skinne, and on the fowleſt matters to make the faireſt pretence, neuer making a deeper wound then where they would be thought to worke their greateſt cure; or vſing more deceit, then when they moſt preach of plain dealing: for heer *M. Hall* would ſeeme to ſticke to God againſt men and Angells when as he cleane leaueth him; he offereth to be caſt in his cauſe if he do not euince it, when as he relateth a meer fable, a notorious vntruth; talketh of our burning of bookes, tearing out of places, and the like, where there is no ſhew or ſhadow therof; he alleadgeth Canons, Councils, Fathers to no purpoſe but to delude his reader with their names, and to hide his hooke with a more alluring bayte, for without this art his wordes would be of no regard, or able to perſwade any. *Nam nec venator ſeram* (ſaith *S. Gregory*) *aut auem aucepſ*. *Greg. l. 7. ep. 12.* For neither he hunter would catch the beaſt, or the fowler the bird, or the fiſher the fiſh, if either the hunter or fowler ſhould lay their ſnars open to be ſeen, or the fiſher with a bayte ſhould not hide his hooke: by all meanes we are to feare and beware of the deceit of the enemy, leaſt by a ſecret blow he do not more cruelly kill, whome by open temptation he could not ouerthrow. So he, of the diſciples, and we of heretickes.

14. But now let vs come to the particulars *M. Halls* proofes, and behold how well they include, for ſomewhat you may imagine he hath found out *quod tot latuerit ſanctos, tot praterierit*, or elſe he would neuer vſe ſuch confidence and

and Thraasonical vantage, & offer the hazard of a diuorce: and to the end there may be no mistaking you must know that our controuersy is not whether any Priestes and Bishops haue bene married, or had children, for of that there can be no difficulty, it being euident the Father of *S. Gregory Nazianzen*, after ward Bishop, *S. Hilary*, *S. Gregory Nissen*, and others named in this epistle haue had wiues, & some of them by their wiues issue, but our question only is whether any after they were made Priests or Bishops did euer marry, or if they married not, whether yet they vsed their wiues which before they had, & whether that vs was approued as lawfull. And this the protestants affirme both in doctrine & practise and we deny; and for our deniall bring the consent of all times, all places, all Authors of note and credit for our assertion: whereas *M. Hall* now you shall see, produceth little els but idle allegations, impostures, and meer vntruths. this we shall now examine.

The true state of the question is set downe, which in this controuersy is much to be noted.

M. Hall beginneth with a cluster of vntruths.

15. After a few idle wordes to no purpose thus he writeth. But some perhaps mainteyne our Mariage not to be lawfull out of iudgment, but they make much of that which *Paul* tells them *is a doctrine of diuells*, were it not for this opinion the Church of *Rome* would want one euident brand of her *Antichristianisme*: let their shaueling speake for themselves vpon whome their vnlawfull vow hath forced a willfull and impossible necessity: I leaue them to scan the old rule *interpiti voto muta decretum*. So *M. Hall*, making you see his first entrance with a fierce assault being set as it should seem into some choller,

ere we end, I hope we shall in part coole his courage, and shew his chiefest talent not to be in disputing, in which he is no body, but in railing and lying, wherein we contend not with him, but willingly giue him the garland of that conquest: and as for vntruthes they will be very frequent with him when as euen heer he beginneth with such a clutter together.

16. For truly if any one out of iudgment In few doubted of the mariage of priests & clergy men, lines no he cannot but be further off from beleueing it, lesse then when he seeth M. Hall so, without iudgment fine vn- learning, or truth, to mainteyne it: for omitting truths. his railing in these few words are fine vntruths.

1. That S. Paul calleth the single life of priests the doctrine of diuells. 2. That this is a brand of Antichristianisme. 3. That this vow is vnlawful. 4. That it forceth an impossible necessity. 5. That it is turpe votum, which are contradictory tearms, for a vow can neuer be turpe, because it is defyned by deuins to be *promissio facta Deo de meliore bono*, which can conteyne no turpitude in it. I see we shall haue a good haruest ere we come to the end, seeing he begins with so great abundance, for all this his entrance consisteth only of vntruthes.

17. Which vntruthes albeit I might with as great facility reiect as he doth auerre them, The first seeing they haue no other ground then his bare vntruths assertion for their proofs, yet very briefly I will refused. touch them all in order as they lye. I say therefore that it is vntrue, that S. Paul calleth the single life Theodor. of priests the doctrine of diuells, for he speaketh of in Com. those, as Theodorus doth expound him, *qui execrabiles nuptias & plurimos cibos appellabant*, who called *ibidem*.

Tract. 9.
in Ioan.

3i Sermonum.

Ambr. in comment.

August. haes. 22.

Epiphan. haes. 42.

& 66.

Aug l 30.
contra
Faustum
Manic. c. 6.

Anselm. in comment.

mariage and diuers meates execrable: he speaketh of those, as *S. Augustine* saith, who sayed: *quod mala essent nuptia, & quod diabolus eas fecisset*, that mariages were naught, and that the Devil had made them: he speaketh of those according to *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *qui matrimonium abhorrent*, abhor matrimony: in one word he speaketh of the Manicheans, and other heretiks, as *S. Ambrose*, *Epiphanius*, and others expound him, who held matrimony in it selfe to be vncleane and impure from which the Catholiks are so far, as they not only allow it as cleane, *torus immaculatus*, the bed vndefiled, but also approue it for a Sacrament.

18. And it followeth not as *M. Hall* surmizeth, that becaule priests and Religious refuse to marry, therefore they condemne marriage, and teach the doctrine of diuells: for as *S. Augustine* well noteth: *Si ad virginitatem sic hortarentur, qui admodum hortatur Apostolica doctrina: Qui dat nuptum, benefacit, & qui non dat nuptum melius facit: ut bonum esse nuptias diceretis sed meliorem virginitatem, sicut facit ecclesia quae verè Christi est Ecclesia, non verè spiritus sanctus ut prenuntiaret, dicens &c.* *it ycu* (saith he to the Manichees) did so exhort to virginity as the Apostolicall doctrine doth, saying: he that marieth his daughter doth well, and he who marieth not doth better, that you would graunt mariage to be good, virginity to be better, as the Church doth, which is truly the Church of Christ, the holy Ghost would not so forwarne vs of you; saying, *prohibentes nubere*, forbidding to marry: & then addeth this sentence which verbatim *S. Anselm* in his cōmentary hath taken of him: *Itē prohibet qui hoc malum esse dicit, non qui huic bono aliud*

alind
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aliud bonum anteponit. He forbiddeth a thing according to S. Paul, who saith it is ill, not he who before one thing that is good prefers another that is better: which is the very case of those mentioned, as is euident. And the selfe same hath S. Chrysostome in his Commentary. *Aliud* (sayth he) *est prohibere, aliud sua voluntatis dominium relinquere &c.* It is one thing to forbid marriage, another thing to leaue a man free: for one (as the afore named Heretik) so far as he is able forbids marriage, another (to wit the Catholike) exhorts vnto Virginitie, as the more noble: neither doth he do it as forbidding to marry, *sed celsioris virtutis merita sectanda proponit*, but sets beforether eyes the pursuit of the merits of a more eminent vertue. So S. Chrysostome. And S. Fulgenius in few words answereth this stale cauill, saying: *Neg, sic virginitatem frumentis ascribimus, ut coniugium inter zizania deputemus.* We do not so compare virginity to pure corne, as to cast matrimony amongst the vncleane cockle.

Chrys. in
comment.

Fulgen. ep.
3. cap. 9.

19. The second vntertruth is, that this is the brand of Antichristianisme: belike none of Antichrist his Chaplyns shall haue wiues, or els I see not why this should be his brand: for if he meanted as he seemeth to do, that to professe continency out of marriage is Antichristian, whether in widdowes, or virgins; with our Cleargy, and Religious he will brand also S. Paul, who in the very next Chapter after this cyted by himselfe speaking of certayne yong widdows who after their vowes would marry sayth: *damnatio- nem habentes quia primam fidem irritam fecerunt*, ha- uing damnation because they haue made voide

The se-
cond vn-
truth re-
futed.

1. Tim. 5.

20 *An Answer to M. Halles Apology,*
 or broken their first faith: where by the word
 faith all Fathers without exception vnderstand
 a Vow, or promise made to God of continency
 in the state of widdowhood. S. Chrysostome,
 Theophilact, and Oecumenius call it *pactum*, a cove-
 nant or accord. By which word that a vow is
 meant is plaine by Theodoret, where he sayth:

Theod.
 epitom. di-
 um. decre-
 to. cap. de
 virginis.

*hoc autem (non peccat) dicit de ijs qua virginis pacis
 conuenta seu vota nondum fecerant:* that which the
 Apostle sayth (he doth not sinne) he sayth of
 those who as yet had made no couenants or
 vows of virginity. S. Hierom calls it a promise, S.
 Ambrose a profession, and the same doth also Theo-
 doret saying: *Cum enim Christo professæ sunt in viduita-
 te castè viuere, secunda Matrimonia contrahunt*, when
 as they had professed to liue chastly in widdow-
 hood, they married the second tyme, and which
 is all one with the former. S. Augustine in many
 places calleth it a Vow, and sayth that these wan-
 ton widdowes were condemned for breaking
 their Vowes made of not marrying any more.

August.
 serm. de bi-
 no viduita-
 tis. S. 69.

*Non quia (sayth he) ipse nuptia velut malum iudican-
 tur, sed damnatur propositi fraus, damnatur fracta voli-
 fides.* These widdowes are not therefore condem-
 ned for marrying because marriages are held to
 be naught, but the transgression of their con-
 trary purpose is condemned, the breach of their
 vow is condemned. So he. Againe in another
 place, the Apostle speaking of certaine who vow
 chastity, & after will marry, which before their
 22 *vowes was lawful for them to do, he sayth: they
 α haue damnation, because they haue made voyd
 their first sayth. In this manner also Primasius ex-
 poundeth this Text: quia fecerunt sibi illicitum, quod*

licebat

licebat vouendo castitatem, they made that vnlawful which before was lawfull by vowing of chastity. The same hath *Haymo*, *S. Ambrose*, *S. Thomas*, and others, yea all that I could euer find to comment on this passage, as well Greeke as Latin.

20. But what need I stand vpon particuler Authors, when I may bring two hundred and fourteen together, all Bishops, all sitting in Councell at *Carthage*, all agreeing in this exposition, amongst whome *S. Augustine* himselfe was both present and subscribed: in this Councell, I say, in the very last Canon it is decreed, that if any widdow after shee hath receaued the habit and vowed chastity shall marry againe that shee shall be excommunicated, & the reason is assigned, because according to the Apostle *damnationem habebunt quoniam fidem castitatis quam dominoouerunt irritam facere ausi sunt*. They shall haue damnation because they presumed to break the promise of chastity which they haue vowed vnto our Lord. What more cleare?

Concil.
Carthag.
4. Canon
ultimo.

21. Wherefore this being the vniforme opinion of all antiquity, auouched by so many, and hardly neuer by any contradicted, of the sense of this vrged place, I demaund now of *M. Hall* whether these yong widdowes in breaking their vowes did synne or not; if they did not, why shall they haue damnation? and why are they condemned by the Apostle for breaking their former promise? Why is their marriage reprobued which they might lawfully contract? if they did synne, as indeed they did, then how is the vow vnlawful? how the brand of *Antichristianisme*? how doeth it induce an impossible necessity? For no man syn-

neth where there is eyther necessity or impossibility, much lesse in breaking a *fleshly vow*, as this impure companion speaketh, which neuer bindeth the maker: let him turne himselfe into all *Protheus* his formes, he shall neuer auoyd the force of this reason. Foreyther he must deny the word *Faith*, to signify a promise, vow, or couenant, and then he condemneth the Auncient Fathers, or say that these widowes sinned not, and then he condemneth *S. Paul*; or graunt that they did synne, and then he condemneth himselfe. This *Gordian* knot requires more strength then *M. Halles* learning, and a sharper edge then *Alexanders* sword, to dissolue, or cut it asunder.

22. And herein I appeale to the iudgment of all schollers, whether this one inference of the Apostle, do not forcibly overthrow all his vntruths together: for supposing these widdowes to haue vowed, their vow to haue bene lawfull, the transgression damnable, the obseruance laudable, who seeth not that it is no doctrine of Diuells, but diuine and Apostolicall; no brand of Antichristianisme, but a band of Christian perfection; no vnlawfull vow; no impossible necessity; no turpitude, but Angelicall purity to be conteyned therein, and the like. I know some Heretikes of our tyme, do vnderstand this first faith of the faith of Baptisme, but how can this faith hinder marriage? or how do they breake this faith, that thereby they should incur damnation? This alone might suffice for a full answer to all his first obiection, yet to deale more friendly with him, I will add a word or two more touching the other three vntruthes.

Caluins
ridiculous
evasion.

23. The third vnt ruth is, that this vow is The third
vnlawfull which he proueth not, though it be vnt ruth
a fundamentall point in this new Ghospel, & refused.
was the plea of M. Halls Heroicall Luther (for so he
stileth him) when he became so wanton, as he *In his Pas-*
could no longer be without his woman, and so *from Ser-*
lew d as to make lawes to mainteyne his vnlaw-
full lust: for by these good workes was the flesh-
ly fancy of iustification by only sayth, first fra-
med and set on foot, and therefore this point
being so essentiall, deterued some better prooue,
then a bare auouching, vnles perhaps M. H.
thinke to haue proued it to be vnlawfull, by af-
firming it to be impossible, but that is nothing els,
then to proue one lye by making of another, or
to speake more properly, boldly without pro-
uuing any thing to multiply vnt ruthes, & abuse
his Readers: and indeed such Propositions de-
serue no other answer then a resolute denyal,
with some checke of the maker, for supposing
the thing that most of al imported him to proue,
& that against all the lawes of learning, which
call this dealing *petitionem principij*, a fault vnwor-
thy of a puny Sophister, who will shame to as-
sume that as euident which is denyed by his ad-
uersary, and instead of prouing fal so supposing,
by which kind of arguing he may proue what
he list, and make an asse to haue eight eares, be-
cause he may suppose him to haue foure heads.

24. Neuertheles that this new heresy be-
gan with breaking of vowes, and pleading the
vnlawfulles and impossibility of them, I meane
vpon the occasion offered of M. Halls words, to
discusse a little either member a part, and let

you see both, what our Adversaries now say, & what the Fathers, whose authority M. Hall so much doth reuerence, haue sayd in this matter; although for the later none can be ignorant who read their works, how vehemently they haue approued vowes, and without ail disproofe of marriage, haue extolled single life, both for perfection and merit before matrimony; and M. Hall against vowes of virginity and chastity, from them fetcheth no testimony, but relyeth on his two foresayd supposed, and not proued principles, to wit, that they are *vnlawfull*, that they are *impossible*, and so being *vnlaw* all they may not be made, being *impossible* they cannot be kept: & for that the *vnlawfulness* he mentioneth may be as well meant of that which floweth from the very nature and essence of such vowes, as from the surmized impossibility of the object, in regard whereof he calleth it *turpe votum*, a filthy vow, as including in it selfe some vncleanes; I will shew such vowes to be far from all impurity, far from impossibility, and consequently that they may lawfully be made, and inuiolably obserued by the makers.

25. Which point deserueth the greater discussion for the cause alleadged, I meane for that the later heresies began by vow-breakers who to excuse their incontinency cōdemned all vowes, and made this in particular to be worse then aduowtry, to be *vnlawfull*, to be *impossible*: *Quid igitur de voto castitatis* (sayth lewd Luther) *amplius dicam &c.* What then shall I say more of the vow of chastity? my purpose is not to declare by what means it is to be kept, but by what

Luther. l.
de votis
Monast.
3pm, 6.
Geropag.
93.

what meanes it cannot, or ought not to be kept. And what thinke you to be the cause heereof? no other truly but that which M. Hall doth heer alleadge, that it is an. vnlawfull vow. *Quomodo fieri potest* (sayth Luther) *ut tale votum non sit. peius quàm adulterium seu fornicatio?* How can it otherwile be, but that such a vow of chastity is worse then adultery, or fornication? And in the same book he sayth, that a man doth mocke God by these vowes no lesse, then if he should vow to be a Bishop, and that God doth reiect these vowes no lesse then if he had vowed to be the mother of God, or to create a new Heauen. Againe against Catharinus he sayth, that the tenth face of Antichrist is the single life of such as do vow chastity: *planè Angelica facies, sed diabolica res*; indeed it is an Angelicall face, but a diabolicall thing, & to vow the same is nothing els, then to condemne and accurse matrimony: With this mad Martin, Pellican & Bucer two other marryed Friers do in iudgment and opinion accord: for they will haue the Law and Commandment of God to be to the contrary, that is, to inhibite the vow of chastity, and to command all men to be householders, all women to be house-wiues.

Luth ep. ad
V Volgä.
gum Reif-
senbusch.

In cap. 1.
Matth

26. And so far did Luther thinke men to be bound by the obligation of this law, as thus he writeth of himselfe: *Ego priusquam matrimonium inieram, omnino mecum statueram &c.* I before I was marryed had fully determined with my selfe that in case I should dye sooner then I expected, that euen in the agony or pang of death I would betroth my selfe to some young mayd. So sharp set was this wanton companion on marriage, as he

in collo-
quijs Ger-
man. c. de
vita coniu-
gali.

thought it necessary, and that also *necessitate medi*
to saluation: and he who will consider the
quicke dispatch he made in marying, shall fynd
that his hast was somewhat more then his good
speed, for hauing cast of the yoke of all regular
discipline, and bragged in a letter to his father
that now he was vnder none but Christ, *ipse meus*
est immediatus (quod vocant) Episcopus, Abbas, Prior,
Dominus, Pater, & Magister, alium non noui amplius:
Christ is my immediate Bishop (as they call it)
he is my Abbot, Prior, Lord, Father, and
Maister, now I know no more but him: the
next yeare after he marryed (to vse his owne
words) *cum honesta virgine Catharina Bore, quae aliquan-*
do monialis fuit, with an honest virgin Catharin
Bore, which once had bene a Nunne: and to
make sure worke, *ne quod impedimentum obiceretur,*
mox etiam festinatum adieti concubium, and least
any impediment should occur &c.

Epist. ad
Patrem su-
um Ioan-
nem tom.

2. *latin.*
VVitem-
berg.

Epist. ad
VVincel-
sum Lin-
ckium.

Luther. ep.
ad Ioan.

Ruell, 10^a.

Durr, &
Gasp.

Müller. 10.

9. *German.*

37. And he did well to mention his hasty
copulation, or else the effect had appeared before
the cause, and his Kate had shewed herselfe a
mother before she had bene knowne to be his
wife: for *Erasmus* writing to his freind *Daniel*
Mauchius of *Vlmes*, thus reporteth the matter. *Mōim*
lepidissimis literis nescio an vacet nunc respondere &c. I
know not whether I shall be at leasure now to
answer the pleasant letter of *Montinus*, you shall
tell him a prety iest: *Luther* laying aside his Phi-
losophicall cloke hath marryed a wife, of the
noble family of the *Bores*, a very faire mayd of
six and twenty yeares of age: but he hath no
dowry with her, and she had bene a Nunne; &
that you may know this mariage to haue bene
very

Erasm. ad
Danielem
Mauchium
Vlmensem.

The vo-
luckines
of *Luthers*
ouerhasty
marriage.

very lucky, a few dayes after the marriage was celebrated, the new wife was brought to bed, so Erasmus: and more compendiously Iustw Baroni-
us: Lutherus heri Monachus, hodie sponsus, cras maritus Iustus Baro-
perendie Pater: Luther was yesterday a monke, to ronius sops-
day a bridegrome, to morrow a husband, the re de præs-
next day after a father. So he. Which as you see criptioni-
bus,
 was somewhat to hasty indeed, and yet notwithstanding which is more strange, after he had knowne his harlot, and she was knowne to be great with child, he wrote a letter to one Spalatinus, and calleth his wife a virgin: *Spero* (saith *Epist. ad*
he) me os obturasse us qui me vnâ cum mea desponsata mihi Spalatin.
virgine Catharina de Bore tradunt & diffamât: I hope
 now that I haue stopped their mouthes who
 staunder and defame me together with my es-
 poused virgin Catherine Bore. And the like he
 writeth to Nicolas Amsdorfius, calling her after this
 againe *virtuosam virginem*, a vertuous virgin: but
 such vertue, such virgin: a fit matron she was
 forso mad a fryer.

28. Besides this precept and practise of mariage in these men, to add further that the vow of perpetuall chastity is impossible to be kept, may well seeme a thing impossible to be affirmed by a Christian man, but Africke was neuer so full of different monsters as these men are of prodigious opinions: for now nothing is so improbable but may fynd an Author, and this of chastity how-
 soeuer it be a brutish paradox, is affirmed by Luther, and that in such blunt and beastly manner, as I am ashamed to put downe all his words, as vnwilling to let any thing passe my pen that may defile your cares, or by reading offend any
 chaste

chastmynd. Wherefore to omit other his base speeches to shew a vow of chastity for tearme of

Tom. 6. life to be impossible, thus he writeth: *Ponamus quod a-*
de votis. *liquis voueat condere nouas stellas, mouesq; transerre, an*
Monasticis *non iure vocaret amentiam? sed enim vo. um castitatis a*
pag. 211. *tali voto n. bil differt.* Let vs suppose that one should
 & Epist. vow to make new starres, and to remoue moun-
 ad V Volf. tayne, would you not worthily call this vow
 gangw. a meer madnes: but there is no difference be-
 Reiffenbus. a twene the vow of chastity and this vow. So Lu-
 & thet, and againe to the same effect: *Caste & integrè*

Tom. 7. *viuere tam non est in manu nostra quàm omnia reliqua*
 pag. 305. *Dei miracula:* to liue chastly and continently is as
 little in our power as are all the other miracles of
 almighty God: and so whereas it lyeth not in
 our power to worke all the miracles of God, to
 make new starres, to remoue mountaynes, & the like,
 no more is it in our power to liue chast, which
 sayeth this Epicure, *homini à Deo nullo modo concedi-*
 tur, is not graunted by God to any man: and in-
 deed though I haue heard of one who remoued a
 mountayn, yet did I neuer read of any that made
 new starres, though some by the reuolution of
 their Epicycles haue newly appeared, but they
 were made by the same hand which made the
 rest, and at the same tyme, and therefore by
 good illation it will follow, that as no man is
 able to make a new star, so by Luthers doctrine no
 man is able to liue chast.

29. And this might suffice to shew his opi-
 nion of this impossibility, and it is to monstrous
 as yow see, but yet as though this were not more
 then inough, he further butteth downe for sur-
 plusage this position: *Quàm parùm in mea potestate*
situm

Greg.
 Thaumaturgus vs
 referunt
 Basil. Gre.
 go. Nissen.
 Beda, alij.

fitum est, vt vir non sim, tam parum etiam in mea potestate Luther. lib.
 fitum est, vt alſq; muliere ſim : ac ruruſum, quàm parum de vita com-
 in tua potestate eſt, vt mulier non ſis, tam parum etiam in iugali
 tua potestate eſt, vt alſq; viro ſis, quia hac res non eſt ar- Tom. 6.
 bitaria ſeu conſily, ſed res neceſſaria ac naturalis, vt omnis VVitem-
 vir mulierem habeat, & omnis mulier virum &c. eſtq; berg.
 hoc pluſquam præceptum magis neceſſarium quàm comedere 171.
 & bibere, purgare & exſpuere, dormire & vigilare. As
 little as it lieth in my power not to be man, ſo
 little is it in my power to be without a woman :
 and againe as little as it is in thy power not to
 be a woman, ſo little is it in thy power to be
 without a man. Becauſe this matter is not left in
 our owne hands, but it is both neceſſary and
 naturall, that euery man haue a woman, and e-
 uery woman haue a man &c. And this is more
 then a cōmandement, and more neceſſary then
 to eat and drinke (purgare & exſpuere are to homely
 ſtuffe to be Engliſhed) to ſleep and wake. So far
 this Chriſtian Epicure : and ſome 6. pages after he
 counſaileth what is to be done in caſe the wiſe
 beſroward, and will not come at her husbands
 call, and his aduiſe is to leaue her in her fro-
 wardneſſe and to take ſome other : to ſeek ſome
 Heſther and leaue Vaſthy, with other ſuch beaſtly
 impertinencies.

30. By this you ſee how Luther, and M. Hall The firſt
 like Pilate and Herode though at variance betwene point is
 themſelues, yet in this do agree againſt vs, that diſcuſſed,
 the vow of caſtity is vnlawfull and impoſſible: let vs to wit,
 now debate frendly the matter it ſelfe in cyther whether
 member, and ſee if thiſe cyther in reaſon or from chaſtity be
 the warrant of Scriptures or the Fathers can vnlawfull
 ſubſiſt. And to begin with the vnlawfulneſſe: if or not.

the

the vow of chastity be vnlawfull it must either be in respect of the vow, or of the matter vowed; but from neither of these two branches can this vnlawfulness proceed, and consequently it is not vnlawfull at all. Not from the first, because vows in generall are lawfull, and as such are allowed in the old and new testament, and of the Messias it was prophesied, that the Egyptians should worship him in sacrifices and giftes: and further, *Vota vouebunt Domino & soluent*, they shall make vowes vnto our Lord and shall performe them, and these vowes do more straitly bind vs vnto God, then any promises made amongst men do bynd them to one another. *Quam grauia sunt vincula* (saith S. Ambroise) *promittere Deo & non soluere &c.* How gricuous are the bands to promise to God and not to performe? It is better not
 α to vow then to vow and not to render what we
 α haue vowed, *Maiores est contractus fidei quam pecunia*,
 α the contract or promise of Religion, is greater
 α then the contract or promise of money: satisfy thy promise whiles yet thou art aliue before the Iudge come, & cast thee into prison. So he. The same, to omit others, hath S. Leo: *Ambigi non potest &c.* It cannot be doubted that a great fine is committed where the (religious) purpose is forsaken & vowes violated. The reason whereof he yeldeth saying: *Si humana pacta non possunt impunè calcari, quid de eis manebit qui corruerint fœdera diuini Sacramenti?* If humane contracts are not broken without punishment, what shall become of them, who haue violated the contracts of their sacred promise made vnto God? So he. And this was the cause why the Apostle sayd, that the yong widdowes

Deuteron.
 23. Eccles.
 5. psal. 31.
 49. 65. 75.

Isa. 19.

Ambros.
 lib. 9. in
 Lucam in
 caput 10.

Leo epist.
 91. cap. 15.

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by violating their vow, had incurred damnation, because it was made to God, and so could not be made voyd at all. *Quid est*, sayth S. Augustine, *primam fidem irritam fecerunt i voverunt & non reddiderunt.* ^{August. in psalm. 75.} What is meant, that they made voyd their first sayth? they vowed and performed not their vows. What more cleare? And in another place: *primam fidem irritam fecerunt, id est, in eo quod primo voverant non steterunt*, they made voyd their first sayth, that is, they remayned not constant in that which they had first vowed. ^{De virginitate cap. 13.}

31. And this place, not only proueth a vow to be lawfull in generall, but euen in this particular matter we now speake of, I meane of chastity. Because these widdowes were reprehended of the Apostle, for that they would marry, and not liue chastly in widdowhood as they had vowed, as before I haue shewed: to which end, and to prouethe perpetuall band of these vows, it is applyed also by S. Fulgentius, when he sayth: *Qui statuit in corde suo firmus, non habens necessitatem, potestatem autem habens suae voluntatis &c.* ^{Fulgentius de fide ad Petrum cap. 30.} He who hath determined in his hart being steadfast, not hauing any necessity, but hauing power ouer his owne will, and hath vowed chastity to God, he ought with all care, and sollicitude of mynd to keep the same vntill the end of his life, least he haue damnation if he shall make voyd his first sayth. So he. And to the same effect before him wrote S. Hierom saying: *Nazarej sponte se offerunt, & quicumq; aliquid voverit & non impleuerit voti reus est &c.* ^{Hierom. in caput 40. Ezechielus.} The Nazayites voluntarily offer themselves, and whosoever hath vowed any thing, & not fullfilled it, is guilty of his violated

vow

« vow, wherupon of widdowes it is layd, when
 « they waxe wanton in Chritt they will marry
 « hauing damnation &c. for it is better not at all
 « to promise, then not to fullfil what is promised
 Lib. r. in and in another place against Iouinian: If Iouinian
 Iouinian. shall say that this was layd of widdowes, how
 « much more shall it be of force in Virgins, and if
 « it were not lawfull for widdowes, for whom
 « shall it be lawfull? So S. Hierome.

32. And further to proue the lawfullnes
 a vow in this particuler matter, to wit, of cha-
 stity either virginall, viduall, or of single life
 (the speciall subiect of our controuersy) to omit
 other arguments, I will only touch five, of
 which foure shall be taken out of such Fathers
 writings, as M. Hall doth acknowledge, and to
 whome he refers his cause. The first wherof
 shall be their comparing the state of such as liue
 a chaste life, with the state of Angels, and exhort-
 ing thereunto. Secondly their preferring of it
 before marriage. Thirdly their sharp rebukes
 such as haue broken their vow. Lastly their
 condemning of the marriage of vow-breakers
 calling it worle then aduowtry &c. To these
 will add the approuance of the Canon and puni-
 shments appointed by the Ciuill laws for such
 abused Religious women, and then leaue it to
 any to iudge, whether it be *turpe vorum*, a brand
 Antichristianism, worse then aduowtry, a diabolicall thing
 or the like, or whether this base assertion was
 euer taught or belieued in the world by any o-
 ther then Heretikes. And M. Hall if he will stand
 to the triall of antiquity, shall I assure him
 this be either forced to acknowledge his error

Or els to recall what he hath written: that the Fa-
thers tryall it as reuerend, as any vnder beauen, & further: *Hall deced.*
certainely it cannot be truth that is new, we would' re- *4. ep. 8. to*
nounce our Religion, if it could be ouer lookt for time: let *tippling*
go equity, the older take both. So he. And we shal by *Thomas*
this particuler see, whether this franke merchāt *of Ox-*
venturer that hazards so easly his fayth, and *ford.*
saluation vpon antiquity, although erroneous,
will stand to his word in this doctrine of cha-
stity: for if he will maintayne his former
grounds, he must alleadge more ancient, & au-
thenticall records, then those heere produced,
or disproue such as we bring against him, which
he shall neuer be able to do. Or finally deny
what he hath sayd of the vow of chastity, in cal-
ling it a filthy & vnlawfull vow, which by so great
and so graue authority, is taught to be both
lawfull, sacred, and Angelicall.

33. The prayes then giuen to Virgins,
& single life by these renowned pillars of truth, The state
myrrours of learning, and patrons of all purity, of chast li-
are so plentifull, as they take vp no small roome *ners An-*
in the vast volumes of their renowned workes. *gelicall.*
S. Ambrose alone, whose chastity *S. Augustine* so *August. l.*
much admired, hath three bookes of Virgins, *6. conf. 1.*
Besids one of widdowes, one of the trayning *cap. 3.*
Of *S. Cy-*
vp of a virgin, and another intituled, a persua- *prians*
sion to Virginitie. Of this *S. Cyprian*, *S. Augustine*, booke of
S. Basil, *S. Chrysostome*, *S. Gregory Nissen* haue whole *virginity*
bookes, of this *S. Hierome* to *Eustochium*, *Demetrias* *S. Hieroms*
and many others hath very long epistles, and as *maketh*
well these as diuers grounding themselves vpon *mention*
the words of our Sauour, that in heauen there *epist. ad*
is no marrying, because the Saints are equal *Demetriad,*
in fine.

Ambros.
tract. de
hortat. ad
Virgin.
postinitium.

vnto the Angells, shew the life of such as vow chastity to be Angelicall. *S. Ambrose* in the last booke aboue cited sayth: *Andistis quantum sit primum integritatis: regnum acquirit & regnum caeleste, vitam Angelorum exhibet &c.* You haue heard how great the reward is of Chastity, it purchaseth a kingdome, and a heauenly kingdom, it exhibits vnto vs the life of Angells: this I perswade you
 ¶ vnto, then which nothing is more beautifull,
 ¶ that among men you become Angells, who are
 ¶ not tyed together by any band of marriage.
 ¶ Because such women as do not marry, and men
 ¶ that take no wiues, are as Angells vpon earth;
 ¶ in so much, as they feele not the tribulation of
 ¶ the flesh, they know not the bondage, they are
 ¶ freed from the contagion of worldly desirs, they
 ¶ apply their mind vnto diuine matters, and as it
 ¶ were deliuered from the infirmity of the body,
 ¶ do not thinke of those things which belong
 ¶ vnto men, but which appertaine vnto God. So
S. Ambrose, as contrary to *M. Hall*, as heat to cold,
 white to blacke, truth to falshood.

Bernard.
epist. 42.
Hall. De-
cad. 4. ep. 3.

34. *S. Bernard* styled by *M. Hall* deuout *Bernard*, vseth also the same similitude saying: *Quid castitate decorius? qua mundum de immundo conceptum semine, de hoste domesticum, Angelum de homine facit &c.* What is more beautifull then chastity, which makes him cleane who was conceaued of vncleane
 ¶ seed, makes a friend of an enemy, an Angell of a
 ¶ man? For albeit a chaste man, and an Angell do
 ¶ differ, yet is their difference in felicity, not in
 ¶ vertue: & although the chastity of an Angell be
 ¶ more happy, yet is the chastity of man of greater
 ¶ fortitude; only chastity it is which in this place
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and tyme of mortality, representeth vnto vs a certayne state of the immortall glory, because it alone, amongst the marriages heere made, followes the custome of that happy Countrey, in which (as our Sauour sayd) *they neither marry; nor are married*; exhibiting in a certayne manner vnto the earth an experiment of that conuersation which is in heauen. So S. Bernard. And a little after, *hoc itaq; tanta pulchritudinis ornamentum &c.* This ornament of so great a beauty I may worthily say doth honour priesthood, because it makes the Priest gratefull, or beloued of God & man; & although he be yet on earth, makes him in glory like vnto the Saints. So he. With S. Ambrose and S. Bernard let vs ioine him, who is all in all heauenly, S. Augustine, as M. Hall tearmeth him, *Augustinus* who sayth, *qui in castitate viuunt Angelicam habent in se* *serm. 249.* *terris naturam, castitas hominem cum Deo coniungit, Angelis facit ciuem*; they who liue chaste haue an Angelicall nature on earth, chastity conioyneth a man with God, & makes him a citizen with Angels.

35. As with the same spirit, so with the same tongue do the other Fathers speake both Greeke & Latin. Tertullian sayth that Virgins are *de familia Angelica*, of the company, or household of Angels. S. Hierome, that the life of Virgins is the life of Angels. S. Athanasius cryeth out, *O continentia Ange'orum vita, Sanctorum corona!* O chastity the life of Angels, the crowne of Saints: yea it is also an Angelical crowne, as S. Cyrill of Hierusalem sayth, and aboue the perfection of humane nature: & further he addeth that chaste liuers are Angels walking vpon the earth. S. Gregory Na-

Tertul. 1. ad vxorim cap. 4. Hieron. ep. 22. ad Eustoch. cap. 8. Athan. 1. de virginis. Cyril. Co-se. besti. 123

Nazian.
orat. 31.

Ephrem.
serm. de
castitate.

Cypr. l. de
discipl. &
habitu vir-
ginum.

Basil. de ve-
ra virgin.
longius à
fine.

Cypr. de
discipl. &
bono pud-
icitie.

Basil. l. de
virginit.

zianzen speaking to a Virgin sayth, *Angelorum tam elegisti, in eorum ordinem te aggregasti.* Thou hast chosen the lite of Angels, thou hast put thy selfe into their ranke. S. Ephrem, *O castitas quam mihi minies Angelis similes reddis!* o chastity which maketh men like vnto Angels: and not only like but equall, sayth S. Cyprian, *cum casta perseverat in virginis Angelis Dei estis equales*, whiles you remain chaste and virgins, you are equall vnto Angels yea most noble and eminent Angels sayth S. Basil, *qui virginitatem servant Angeli sunt, non obscuri alii, qui sed sanè illustres atq; nobilissimi*, they who preserve their virginity are Angels, and not some inferior obscure Angels, but eminent and most noble: yea in one respect as S. Bernard above cited did note, and before him S. Cyprian, S. Basil S. Chrysostome and others, they are more noble then all the Angels together: *Virginitas æqualis Angelis*, sayth S. Cyprian, *si verò exquisitamus etiam excedit &c.* Virginity equalls it selfe with Angels, and if we penetrate the matter further it also exceeds them, whiles in this fraile flesh which Angels haue not, it getteth the victory even against Nature. So he: *Angeli carnis nexibus liberati* (sayth S. Basil) *integritatem suam in calis servant &c.* The Angels free from all fleshly bands preserve their purity in heauen, both in respect of the place, and their owne nature inuiolable, being still with God the supreme King of all: but virgins by wrestling heere on earth with the allurementes and pleasures of the flesh, and by continuall combats overcome the temptation of the Diuell, and with singular vertue before the eyes of their Creatour haue preserved their integrity equal

equall euen vnto the purity of Angells. So S. Basil. But for that this point is more liuely set downe by S. Chrysostome, I will with his words end this matter: for he who by all these testimonies is not conuincd, will neuer be perswaded by the authority of Fathers.

36. Thus then writeth this flowing Father in the prayse of virginity: *Bonum est virginitas, & ego consensio, & matrimonio etiam melior, & hoc confiteor* *Chrysost. l. de virgin. cap. 10. 11.*
&c. You say then that virginity is a good thing, and I do graunt it; it is better then matrimony, and this also I graunt: and if you will, I shall shew you how much it is better, to wit, by how much heauen is better then earth, Angells then men, yea to speake more resolutely, more then this: for albeit that Angells neither marry, nor are marryed, yet are they not made of flesh and bloud, they dwell not on the earth, they seele not the sting of the lust, they need not meat, nor drinke, they are not allured with sweet songs, beautifull aspects, or any such like thing, but as at high noone we see the cleare heauen ouercast with no cloud, so their natures most cleare and lightsome, must needs be free from all lust: but mankind inferiour by Nature to Angells, forceth it selfe, and by all meanes strueth to match them, and this by what meanes? Angells marry no wiues, nor are marryed, no more doth a virgin; they assist, and serue alwayes before God, the like doth a virgin: Wherefore the Apostle putteth them from all care or sollicitude, that they may be continuall and not deuided: if so be that they cannot ascend into heauen as Angells do, their bodies keeping them on earth;

yet from hence they haue a noble recompense,
 because they receaue the Lord himselfe of hea-
 uen, because they are *holy in body and mynd*: do you
 see the honour of virginity? It strives to make
 the liues of them who liue on earth to resemble
 the liues of the heauenly spirits, it makes them
 contend with Angells, and not to be ouercome
 by these spirituall troops, it makes them com-
 petitours with Angells. And againe after allead-
 ging the examples of *Elias, Elizæus, and S. Iohn*
Baptist he sayth: *Etenim quare, dic fides, ab Angelis dis-*
ferebant Elias, Elizæus, Ioannes germani hi virginitati
amatores? nulla nisi quod mortali natura erant obstricti
&c. For tell me I pray you, in what thing did
Elias, Elizæus, and Iohn these sincere louers of vir-
 ginity differ from Angels? in nothing, but that
 by nature they were mortall, in other thinges if
 you consider them well, you shall find them
 nothing inferiour, and this very thing wherein
 they seemed inferiour, doth much make to their
 commendation: for liuing vpon the earth and
 vnder the necessity of mortall nature, consider
 what fortitude and industry was required to be
 able to reach to so great vertue. Hitherto *S.*
Chrysostome.

An inevi-
 table con-
 sequence.

37. Now this being the opinion of these
 Fathers touching this vow and vertue, I would
 aske of *M. Hall*, how the obiekt can be of such
 purity, such perfection, and the act that tendeth
 directly thereunto be impure, and vnlawfull?
 That is, how chastity can be in it selfe Angeli-
 call, & yet the vow made of obseruing the same
 be filthy and diabolicall? Truly he may as well
 tell me, that albeit adultery be a damnable sin,
 yet

yet are the adulterers very honest men, & such as resolutely purpose to be naught in that kind, to purpose nothing els but an action of vertue: for if in this case he say, that the object is bad, and the intention of committing that act cannot thereby but be necessarily vnlawfull; so will I on the other side answer him, that this object is Angelicall, and consequently the vow made for that end, hauing no other ill circumstances annexed, must needs of his owne nature be both lawfull, vertuous, and commendable: but these men measuring all matters by their owne manners, will commend no more then themselves do practise, or admit any other virgins, then such as hauing knowne their husbands, are now ready to be made mothers.

38. If M. Hall do say that in wedlocke there is also chastity, and that these prayses may be giuen thereunto: as I graunt the former part to be true, so I deny the later, and he shall neuer shew me in the ancient Fathers, the state of marriage to be called *Angelicall*, but stil to be inferiour to that title, as S. Chrysostome hath now declared who maketh as large a difference betweene the one and the other state, as there is between heauen and earth, Angels and men: *Virginalis integritas* (sayth S. Augustine) *& per piam continentiam ab omni concubitu immunitas, Angelica portio est, & in carne corruptibili incorruptionis perpetua mediatio: cedat huic omnis secunditas carnis, omnis pudicitia coniugalis.* *August. de sancta Virginitate te. cap. 129*
 Virginall integrity, and freedome through pious continency from all carnall knowledge, is an Angelicall portion, and in this corruptible flesh a meditation of the euerlasting incorruption:

to this the fruitfull issue of the flesh, and coniu-
 gall cleanes must yield, or giue place. So S. Au-
 stine; and so far doth this holy Father proceed
 heerin, as he sayth: *Sacrata verò virginitati nuptias*
De Ecclē. dogmat. cap. 43. *coequare &c.* to equall marriage with sacred vir-
 ginity, & to belicue no merit to accrew to such
 as for the desire of chastizing their bodies ab-
 steyne from wiues and flesh, is not the part of a
 Christian, but of an hereticall *Iovinian*. So he.

39. S. Cyril and S. Hierome also speaking of
Cyrl. co- sechos. 4. the same thing say, that virginity or continency
Hier. A- in respect of marriage, is like gold in respect of
polog. ad siluer, both are good, both are cleane, yet the
Pamach. c. one more pure, more pretious then the other,
8. and Isidorus *Pelusiota* addeth: *Bonum est matrimonium,*
Lib. 2. ep. 93. *sed melior virginitas, pulchra est Luna sed Sol praeclarior.*
93. Matrimony is good, but virginity is better; the
 Moone is fayer, but the Sunne more illustrious,
 And S. Ambrose, *multo praestantius est diuini operis my-*
Epist. 81. *sterium, quam humana fragilitatis remedium:* the mi-
 stery of Gods worke (to wit virginity) is more
 noble then the remedy of human frailty (in mar-
 riage) but because this diuerfity is more fully de-
 liuered by S. Fulgentius, omitting all the rest, I
Fulgens. ep. 3. ad Probam cap. 9. will with his words alone decidethis contro-
 uersy of the different dignity of marriage and
 virginity or single life: for thus he writeth:
Dicimus, a sanctis nuptijs, vbi nubunt qui se continere non
possunt, sanctam virginitatem merito potiore distare, quan-
tum distat a bonis meliora &c. We say holy virgi-
 nity for more eminent merit to be so far aboue
 holy marriage (where they marry who cannot
 live continent) as far as the things that are better
 differ from the things that be good; the more
 blessed

blessed from the blessed; the more holy from the holy; the cleaner from the cleane; the immortal wedlocke from mortall marriage; as far as the spirit differs from the flesh, strength from weakness, the fruit of an euer enduring offspring, from the issue of a transitory child, as far as security is from tribulation, tranquility from trouble, a greater good combined with an euerlasting ioy, from a lesser that is momentary, and accompanied with anguish. So he.

40. And this great disproportion between these states, is not only grōnded vpon the authority of Fathers, but their authority is warranted by the Scriptures, especially in two places of the new Testament. First in S. Matthew where our Sauour speaking of diuersity of merits, vnder the names of a hundred, threescore, and thirty fold frutes, yielded according to the variety of the soyles that receaue the good seed, which are interpreted by S. Augustine, S. Hierome, S. Ambrose to signify the state of virgins, widdowes, and married folks; the first yielding a hundred, the second threescore, the last thirty: out of which is concluded the difference of these merits, to arise from the essentiall difference of the vertues themselves, and preeminent excellency of the one about the other: and more plainly is this deduced out of the seauenth Chapter of the first to the Corinthians, where the Apostle in expresse termes preferreth virginity, and the state of single life before marriage, & magnum inter utrumq, ponit intervallum, makes a great distance between them, sayth S. Chrysostome: with whome (a) agree in the same exposition S. (a) Ephrem, (b) virginis.

The excellency of virginity aboue marriage grounded on the Scriptures. Augu. de virgin. cap. 44. & haref. 82. & 15 de ciuit. Dei cap. 26. Hier. l. 2. in Iouin. & Apol. ad Pam-mach. c. 1. Ambros. epist. 82. 1. Cor. 7. Chryso. de virg. c. 34. Serm. de

(b) In Le. 42 *An Answer to M. Halles Apology,*

uit. f. 330. *Procopius, (c) Tertullian, S. (e) Hierome, and others.*

(c) Lib. 1.

41.

ad vxo. c. 3

(d) In Io-

uin. cap. 7.

Ep. 11.

ad Eustoc.

(e) Meta-

phras. in

vita.

(f) Ambr.

l. de virgi-

nibus, hæ-

res. 78.

(g) In hist.

vita S. Ce-

cilie.

(h) Greg.

l. 3. Dialo.

cap. 14.

(i) Hieron.

apud Gra-

tian. um 17.

q. 2. cap.

Scriptis.

Epiphan.

hæres. 61.

The eager

& sharp

reprehen-

sions vsed

by the Fa-

thers to-

ward such

as by in-

continēcy

did viola-

tate or

breake

their yow.

by the practise of the whole Church: for who
so listeth to search the records of antiquity, shall
find many husbands to haue left their wiues, &
wiues their husbands, and that with great and
singular commendation, as S. (e) *Alexius*, S. (f) *Tecla*, S. (g) *Cecily*, (h) *Gregoris*, (i) *Macharius* and
others, but there is no one sentence or syllable
to be found in them all, that euer it was held
lawfull for one who had professed chastity, to
returne to marriage, but the quite contrary, tra-
diderunt (sancti Dei Apostoli (sayth S. Epiphanius)
peccatum esse, post decretam virginis ad nuptias con-
uerſi: the holy Apostles of God haue declared it
to be a sinne after the vow of virginity to retur-
ne to marriage, which argueth the vow of cha-
stity, not only to be lawfull, but of far greater
perfection, then the state of marriage, because
such as haue left their husbands on earth, as S.
Gregory noteth, haue deserued thereby to haue a
spoule in heauen.

42. And to ioyne the two contrary extre-
mes together, which will make the fairenes or
filthines of either the better to appeare: he who
shall reade the sharp inuestiue which S. *Ambrosius*
vsed did write, *ad Virginem lapsam*, to a virgin who
was fallen into that sinne, and consider with
what vehemency he doth checke her inconti-
nency, will better perceauce both the beauty of
this chastity, by the basenes of the transgression
(nam priuatio optimi est pessima) and how different
the spirits of these Saints were from the spirits
of these new Masters now adayes: *seruare se opor-*

sunt fidem (sayth S. Ambrose) *quam sub tantis testi-*
bus pollicita es &c. it behoued thee to keep the pro-
 mile thou didst make before so many witnesses,
 and alwayes to thinke, to whome thou hadst
 offered thy virginity; thou shouldst more easily
 haue lost thy blood and life then thy chastity:
 and a little after: *nam si inter decem testes &c.* for
 if before ten witnesses when the spoualls are
 made, and marriage consummated, every wo-
 man ioyned to a mortal man, doth not without
 great danger of death commit aduowtry, what
 thinkest thou shall be done, if the spirituall con-
 iunction (betweene God and thy soule) made
 before innumerable witnesses of the Church,
 before the Angells and hosts of heauen, be dis-
 solved by aduowtry? I know not if any condig-
 ne death or punishment can be deuised. Some
 will say it is better to marry, then to burne: but
 these words concerne not one that hath vowed,
 one that is veyled: for she who hath espoused
 her selfe to Christ, and receaued the holy veile,
 is already married, is already ioyned to an im-
 mortall husband. So S. Ambrose, and in the eight
 chapter he wills her to take on a mourning
 weed, to cut off the haire of her head, to weep,
 and bewaile her offence, to punish her body
 with fasting, and haire-cloath, and to vse other
 workes of a penitentiall life: and this was the
 sense and iudgment of diuine Ambrose, as M. Hall
 calleth him, touching the lawfullnes of these
 vowes.

43. Of the same argment, and in the same
 stile S. Chrysostome wrote two books to Theodorus,
 S. Basil three epistles to others fallen from that
 chastity

Ambr. ad
 virginem
 lapsam c. 8.

44 *An Answer to M. Halles Apology,*
 chastity which they had vowed, and both do
 vrge, and inculcate seuerer penance to be done
 for the fault committed: and the former to this
 purpose, because examples are more perswasive

*Chrys. pa-
 ren. l. c. II.*

A rare ex-
 ample of
 penance.

then words, recounteth the fall of a yong man,
 who although he sinned but once, yet returning
 to himselfe, the better to do penance. and make
 satisfaction for his fault committed, shut him-
 selfe vp for the tearme of life in a little cell, his
 fellow euery other day bringing him bread and
 water, and in this seuerity as long as he liued
 did he perseuere in ieiunijs, in precatationibus, in lachri-
 mis, repurgans animam a sorde peccati: in fasting, in
 prayers, in teares, cleansing his soule from the
 filth of sinne: and to the same doth S. Chrysostome
 inuite Theodorus, though he were not so happy
 as to follow so good counsaile, but wallowing
 in filthy lust, became by fauour at length to be
 Bishop of Mopsuestia, and afterwards was maister
 of Nestorius the heretike: *malus coruus, malum ouum.*

*Hier. in c.
 9. Osee.*

For this sensuall voluptuous spirit is the seed of
 heresy, and so infecteth the stalkes, that as S.
 Hierome sayth, *difficile sit reperire hereticum, qui diligit
 castitatem*: it is hard to find an heretike, that lo-
 ueth chastity, the cause whereof I shall after as-
 signe. Only heere M. Hall may see how different
 the doctrine of the Fathers is from that which
 he teacheth, and how contrary the Counsaile
 of these Angelical Saints, is to that which lewd
 Luther wrot of S. Hierome, saying: *Sanctus Hierony-
 mus scribit de tentationibus carnis, parua res est, vxor do-
 mi detenta facile huic morbo mederi alicui potest: Eusto-
 chius hac in re potuisset Hieronymo auxilio venire.* O im-
 pure lips, and incircumcised tongue! o beastly
 beginner

*In colloq.
 Germ. ti-
 tulode vita
 coniugali.*

beginner of this new beliefe.

44. Let M. Hall, if he be able, produce vs some prooffe, although but one classicall authority of any one ancient writer, where he hath euer perswaded such as hauing solemnely vowed chastity to vse marriage, as a meanes to overcome tentations, and he shall haue some excuse for calling it a filthy vow, and his Heroicall Luther for rearming it a diabolicall thing: but this is to hard a taske, and his owne Trullan Councell in this allowes him no liberty, howsoeuer in one only point (as in the next Paragraffe shall at large be shewed) it do fauour him: for thus it defineth, *Si quis Episcopus, vel Presbyter, vel Diaconus &c. cum muliere Deo dicata coierit, deponatur, vt qui Christi sponsa* Concil.
Trullan.
can. 4. *vitium attulerit: sin autem laicus, segegetur: It any* Bishop, or Priest, or Deacon &c. shall carnally know a religious woman, let him be deposed, as one that hath deflowred the spouse of Christ, but if he be a lay man, let him be separated, to wit, by excommunication from conuersing with other men: and this was made against the secret abuse, for publike marriage was neuer permitted by any, but still condemned by all.

45. Which in my opinion is a matter so out of controuersy, I meane the not permitting and the condemning of these marriages, which is Marriage
neuer per-
mitted to
votaries. the last prooffe I promised out of the Fathers, as he who denyeth the same, and yet will offer to stand to their tryall, may seeme to be either very ignorant, or impudent; ignorant, if he know not their doctrine; impudent, if he will withstand his owne knowledge, and willfully reiect, as reuerend a triall as any vnder heauen: for heare I pray,

46 *An Answer to M. Halles Apology,*

pray, what they teach touching this matter. *lib*

August. d. *qua non se continent* (sayth S. Augustine) *expedit nu-*
adulter. *bere, & quod licet expedit: qua autem vouerint, nec licet,*
coniugijs *nec expedit:* It is expedient for such women as
lib. i. c. 15. cannot conteyne to marry, and that is expedient

Præfat. in
psal. 83.

which is lawfull: but such as haue vowed cha-
stity, for them is neither expedient, nor lawfull:
and in another place speaking of such a one as
had vowed neuer to marry. He sayth: *Non dam-*

naretur si duxisset uxorem: post votum quod Deo promisit
si duxerit damnabitur; cum hoc faciat quod ille qui non
promiserat, tamen ille non damnatur, iste damnatur:
quare? nisi quia iste respexit retro? He should not

α haue beene damned if he had before married a

α wife, but after his vow which he hath made to

α God, if he shall marry, then he shall be damned:

α when as he doth but the selfe same thing which

α the other doth who made no vow, and yet this

α other is not damned and he is; & this for what

α other cause, but for that he who vowed hath

α (with *Lots* wife) looked backward? So S. *Augu-*

stine, whose heauenly opinion toucheth very

neere the fleshly beginners of this new Ghospel,

whether we respect the first root thereof in *Ger-*

many, *Luther*, *Bucer*, *Oecolampadius*, *Peter Martyr*, and

others, or our first English Patriarke *Cranmer* &

his adherents, whome no vowes made to God,

no shame of men, no conscience, or other band

or bridle, was able to keepe backe from their fil-

thy lust, coloured with the honest title of wed-

locke, but this wedlocke of theirs in the Fathers

writings hath another, but not so honest titles

presently we shall see.

46. S. *Iohn Chrysostome* writing vnto *Theo-*

doru

dorus the relapsed Monke who presently thought *Paran. 2.*
vpon marriage, or how to haue his harlot sayth: *cap. 2.*

*Si iniuncta vincula non tenerent, quis sibi desertionis crimen
objiceret? Nunc autem in te nihil penitus tui iuri est &c.* »

It the bands of this spirituall warfare did not
hold, who wold euer object vnto thee the crime
of this reuolt? but now thou hast no power or
authority ouer thy selfe at all, because thou hast
entred vnder the ensignes of Christ: for if a wo-
man haue no power ouer her owne body, but
her husband; much more those who liue more
to Christ then theselues, can haue no dominion
ouer their bodyes. Thus he. And this reason
moued the ancient Fathers, not only to condem-
ne these marriages, but further to esteeme the
vow-breakers, as adulterous persons, because
they brake their first sayth, promise, contract &
spirituall coniunction by purity of life with
Christ, by a contrary sayth, promise, contract
and carnall vnion with a mortall creature, an
iniury too grosse to be offered vnto our Sauour.
a vow too sacred to be violated by so base a mo-
tiue, an obligation too great so rashly to be bro-
ken: *si de eis aliqua corrupta fuerit deprehensa,* sayth
S. Cyprian, *agat poenitentiam plenam, quia quae hoc* *Cypr. ep. 1.*
crimen admisit non mariti, sed Christi adultera est. *21.* It a
virgin that hath vowed chastity be found to
haue beene deflowred, let her do full pennance,
because she who hath committed this crime is an
aduowtresse, not of her husband, but of Christ.
So S. Cyprian.

47. And to Theodorus the Monke who made
the common obiection of our lasciuious Mini-
sters, that marriage is for al, and denyed to none,
S. Chry-

48 *An Answer to M. Halles Apology,*

S. Chrysostome answers: Neque ullus te forte decipiat dicens, nihil de non accipienda vxore Dominus precepit &c.

« let not any perchance deceaue you saying, God
« hath commanded a man nothing for not taking
« of a wife, I know very well he hath forbidden
« adultery, not prohibited marriage: but you shal
« commit adultery in case (which God forbid)
« you should euer thinke vpon marrying: & what

« *S. Chrysostome wrote to this Apostata Monke,*

Basil. ep.

181. ad vir-

ginem lap-

jam.

« *S. Basil wrote to a corrupted Nunne, to whom*

« *speaking in the person of God he sayth: Ipsa au-*
« *tem dilexit alienos, & viuente me viro immortalis adulte-*

« *ra appellatur, & non timet a' teri viro commisceri. She*
« *bath loued others, and I her immortal husband*

« *being aliue, she is called an aduowtresse, and*
« *she feareth not to be naught with another man*

« *for which cause the sayd Father in his Canon*

Epist. 31

can. 60.

« *to Amphilocheius putting downe the pennance of*
« *such who after the vow of chastity had fallen*

« *into that sinne sayth: peccati adulterij tempus com-*
« *plebit: such a one shall fulfill the penitentiall time*

« *of the sinne of adultery: which thing is more*
« *exaggerated by S. Ambrose vpon the like occasi-*

Ambros.

ad virg.

lap. cap. 3.

« *on, who doubted whether any pennance be*
« *great enough for so foule an offence, for thus he*

« *writeth: Quae se spondit Christo & sanctum velamen*
« *accepit &c. she who hath betrothed herselfe to*

« *Christ, and hath receaued the holy veile is al-*
« *ready married, is already ioyned to her immor-*

« *tall husband, and now if she will marry by the*
« *common Law of wedlocke, she committeth ad-*

« *uowtry, she is guilty of death. So S. Ambrose*
« *And would these Saints, trow you, euer vse such*
« *vehemency, or shew such zeale, if these vowe*

were filthy, vnlawfull, or diabolicall? No, no. Their faintly spirits abhorred such sensuall vncleanes, and brutish doctrine.

48. Neither were the Fathers content to call this sinne aduowtry, but they further added that it is worse then aduowtry. So expressly S. *Zoco cita. Chrysostome: Legitima & iusta res coniugium &c.* Wed-
locke is a lawfull and good thing &c. but to Marke
you it is not now lawfull to obserue the lawes this M.
of wedlocke: for one who is ioyned to the hea- Hall.
uently bridegroom, to forsake him, and entan-
gle himselfe with a wife, is to commit adultery: &
and although a thousand tymes you will call it &
a marriage, yet do I affirme it to be so much &
worse then adultery, by how much God is grea- &
ter and better, then mortall men. By which pro- &
portion we may see, of what sanctity the im- &
pure marriages were which *Luther, Bucer*, and
other renegade Friers did make with Nunnes,
how lawfull it is to breake these vowes, and
finally what is to be thought of such married
Apostata Priests, as still speake honourably of
matrimony, that therby they may seeme not out
of frailty good men, but out of meere deuotion,
to commit adultery, or rather a greater sin: *plane*
non dubitauerim dicere (sayth S. Augustine) *lapsus &*
ruinas à castitate sanctiore qua vouetur Deo, adulterius esse
piores. Certainly I dare affirme the falls and
slidings away from that more sacred chastity
which is vowed to God, to be worse then adul-
teryes. So, and in so playne tearmes S. *Augustine.*

49. And this so gricuous a sinne is tearmed
by S. *Basil*, & S. *Ambrose* sacriledge: *Quando se Deo*
semel auctorauit (sayth the former) *per viâ contin-*
ginem Dei,

« *tiam ac perpetuam castitatem, hoc de rectitate non licet &c.*
 « When one hath bound himselfe by vow vnto
 « God by continency of life, or perpetuall cha-
 « stity, is it not lawfull for him to slide back: and
 « so warily he must keep himselfe, as he would
 « keep a present, or sacrifice offered to God, least
 « our Lord at the day of iudgment condemn him,
 « as guilty of sacriledge. So S. Basil: and against
 « him, who had abused the virgin before mentio-
 « ned out of S. Ambrose, thus doth the same Father
 « exclayme: *De te autem quid dicam, fili serpentis, mini-*
 « *ster Diaboli, violator templi Dei; adulterium viq; & sa-*
 « *crilegium &c.* What shall I say of thee, the sonne
 « of a serpent, the minister of the Diuell, the de-
 « flowerer of the temple of God, who in one filthy
 « act hast committed two sinnes, to wit adultery
 « and sacriledge? sacriledge, for that through thy
 « mad rashnes thou hast polluted the vessel offered
 « to Christ, dedicated to our Lord &c. Neither
 « is it only a double, but a threefold sinne: for be-
 « sides the adultery and sacriledge, they also com-
 « mit incest: *Christus Dominus noster cum virginem suam*
 « *sibi dicatam, & sanctitatis sue destinatam iacere cum altero*
 « *cernit quam indignatur? & irascitur? & quas penas in-*
 « *incestuosus eiusmodi coniunctionibus comminatur?* Christ
 « our Lord and Iudge how doth he abhorre, how
 « is he offended when he seeth his virgin dedica-
 « ted (by vow) vnto himselfe, and deputed to
 « his holynes to lye with another? and what pu-
 « nishment doth he threaten to these incestuous
 « copulations, sayth S. Cyprian? *Qua post consecratio-*
 « *nem nupserint, nou tam adultera sunt quam incesta.* Such
 « virgins as after their vowes and veiles shall mar-
 « ry, are not so much aduowtresses, as incestuous,
 « sayth

Ambros.
 ad virg.
 lap. cap. 8.

Cyprian
 Epist. 62.

Lib. 1. in
 Louinian.

sayth
 30
 stile
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 we in
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 & con
 likes,
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sayth S. Hierome.

50. Finally this base thing, either for practise or opinion, was neuer vied or taught, but by the enemyes of Christ his Church, which point is worthy of speciall consideration: for as we in this, and all other points do adhere vnto the ancient Saints and Fathers, whome we reuerence, admire and follow: so doth M. Hall & his vnto such as they haue censured, discarded, & condemned; that is, we ioyne with Catholikes, they with heretikes; we tread the plaine beaten path of truth, they of errour; such as we follow were the lights and shining lamps of the world, their progenitours were the shame and fleyne of Christianity. The first that I can find recounted in particuler to haue put this filthines in practise was one *Tiberianus* who hauing written a booke to cleare himselfe from the heresy of *Priscillian*, reuolted againe vnto the same: *Tiberianus Boetius* (sayth S. Hierome) *radio victus exiliy, Hierade vitamutauit propositum, & iuxta sanctam Scripturam canis ris illustr. reuersus ad vomitum suum, filiam deuotam Christo virgini in Tiberianem matrimonio copulauit. Tiberianus of Andalusia in* Spaine, ouercome with the tediousnes of his banishment, according to the holy Scripture, like a dog returning to his vomit, caused his daughter that was a Nunne to marry: and he who first taught this to be lawfull was *Iouinian*: *Formosus Monachus* (as the same Father painteth him out) *crassus, nitidus, dealbatus, & quasi sponsus semper incedens*. A fayer Monke, fat, neat, white, & going alwayes as gay as a new married man. And a little after: *Rubent buccae, nitet cutis, coma in occipitum Lib. 2. de frontemq; tornantur, protensus est aquiliculus, insurgunt Iouiniani.*

The progenitours of our English Protestants in the breach of vowes.

humeri, turgent guttur, & de obesit faucibus vix suffocant
verba promuntur. His cheekes are red, his
 sayre and smooth, his locks behind and before
 are frized, his belly beares compasse, his shoulders
 rise aloft, his throat swells, and his strangled
 words can scarce find passage through his
 fat chaps.

51. This man so fine as most of you Ministers, & so fat perhaps as *Marcus Antonius de Domino* (that could not passe to the pulpit) a beire proceeded nothing so far as *M. Hall* doth, to take the vow unlawful, filthy, and a brand of Antichristianisme, much lesse so far as *Luher*, as to marry a Nunne, yet for that he did equall the merit of marriage with the meed of virginity, & caused some to marry, was by all condemned for an heretike, of whome thus writteth *S. Augustin* *Virginitatem etiam sanctimonialium, & continentiam, & castitatem virilis coniugiorum castorum, & fidelium meritum equat* &c. He did equall the virginity euen of Nunnies, and continency of men choosing a single life with the merits of the chaste, and say that married folke; and certayne old virgins in Rome where he taught this doctrine, were sayd by hearing of him to haue married: himselfe true neither had, nor would haue a wife, which he sayd, he did not teach for any greater merit he held to be in virginity before God, that might auaille vs in the kingdome of euerlasting life, but for that it did more auaille the present necessity of this, that is, least a man should be compared with the troubles of marriage. In which words of *S. Augustin* we see two things graunted by our Aduersaries, and denyed by this Father

Augustin.
heres. 82.

& vs; the first, that it is lawfull for such as haue vowed to marry; the other, that virginity is not meritorious to euermlasting life: for M. Hall, as after we shall see, can endure no merits or our workes: and Caluyn in this will haue virginity only to be better then marriage, because it is lesse subiect to worldly entanglements, not for any merit or sanctity that he will haue to be in the same, wherein he agreeth with Iouinian, as you see, as we with S. Augustine. And this much out of the Fathers.

52. There resteth to shut vp this matter, that we also alledge the Canon and Ciuill lawes Prooofes which shew that I haue bene so prolix in the former out of the mer authorities of the Fathers, I wil the sooner Canon & dispatch, and hast to come to the other part of Ciuill law. the Impossibility, auouched by M. Hall, in which I shall be forced to make some little demurre. The Canons therefore shew how Eusebius Gratiu. the Pope decreed, that if a virgin be betroathed causa. 1. to one, her parents cannot force her to marry q. 2. can. with another, but it is lawfull for her to enter d. ponsarā into a monastery and become Religious: which & cap. case happening after in the tyme of S. Gregory the Decreta. Great at Naples, where not the parents, but the Greg. l. 6. party to whome the virgin was assured, either epijs. 20. of griepe, or despight kept al her goods from her, S. Gregory commaunded the Bishop Fortunatus to see all restored, because sayth he, the decrees of the Canon law do no wayes permit any to be punished with whatsoeuer mulct who will become Religious. So he. And heere as you see the state of virginity is preferred before mariage and the monasticall life exalted without any

54 *Answere to M. Halles Apology,*
touch of vnlawfullnes, filthines, or Antichristian brand.

53. In the ciuill is that resolute degree of
Iouian successeur to Iulian the Apostata, still ex-

Codice de
Episcop. &
Cleric. lege
si quis. tantummodo iungendi causa Matrimonij sacratissimas
virgines ausus fuerit, capitali poena feriatur. If any one
I will not say shall rauish, but shall be so bould

as to attempt only to sollicite the most holy vir-
gins with intention to marry them, let him be
put to death. So the law. And the occasion

whereupon it was made, is very remarkable:
for Iulian the Apostata attayning to the Empire, &
reuolting from Christian fayth vnto Paganism,
dealt with holy Virgins, as our King Henry the
eight with all the Religious of England (so
well did these two Princes agree,) for he per-
mitted certeyne lewd companions to marry
some of them, and without all checke or rebuke
to sollicite others to that vncleanes: the matter by

Sozomen. l.
cap. 3. *Istam legem ideo tulit quod*
quidam improbi viri &c. Therefore did Iouian (or
Iouinian as some call him) make this Law, be-

cause some wicked men vnder Iulian the Empe-
rour had married some such virgins; making
them eyther by force or persuation to yield to
this abuse, as it vsually falleth out when in the
troubled state of Religion filthy lust findes free-
dome without punishment, to commit such vil-
lany. So he.

The sin-
gular zeale
of Iouian
in defend-
ing the
purity of
Religious
Virgins.

54. And in setting downe the wordes of
the law this Historian expresseth one clause
omitted in the Code, which sheweth with how
great zeale, this worthy Emperour imbraced
this thing; for he not only made it death to per-

swade

swade such a virgin to marriage, & much more to rauish her by force, but further added that the same punishment should be extented to whoso-
euer els, that *lasciuo solum obtutu aspiceret*, should but as much as cast a wanton looke vpon them: and we may conceaue, what he would haue sayd and done, had he but found Fryers married to Nunnes, or a lay man in his Empire vnder the title of his *Vicar generall* (as was *Thomas Cromwell* to King Henry) visiting all the Abbeyes, Thomas
cromwel.
Priories, Monasteries, Nunneries of his dominions, putting forth all Religious persons that would go, and forcing all vnder the age of 24. to go whether they would or no, and that in secular attyre, to seeke their fortunes: doubtles this puissant Prince had neuer expected so long another occasion to cut off the head of such an impure monster, as King Henry did, who after diuers yeares charged him with heresy, treason & robbery: for this alone had sufficed, this had beene more then inough if King Henry the eight had not beene more like vnto *Iulian* the *Apostata*, then deuout *Iouian*; and others about him at that tyme, like the *Heliotropium* which bendeth alwayes his head to the Sunne, had not flattered and followed him, I meane in all his wicked delignes: among which sort of people it was no miracle to find such base spirits, because men of that stamp, as *Iouian* was wont to say: *Non Deum sed purpuram colunt*, make the Kings robes the rule of their Religion, seeke to rise by other mens ruines, procure their private aduancement by publike spoile, and without al care or conscience transgresse and breake all lawes of God, or

man, rather then they will withstand the vniust pleasure of any licentious Prince, by whome they may expect to be preferred.

55. This iust and rigorous decree of *Iouian* is further seconded by another in *Iustinian*, where
Lex 47. de there is extant a law against those that should
Episcop. & by violence rauish virgins, diaconesses, or wi-
Clericis. dowes, that if such were taken, *adhuc flagrante de-*
licto, they should being conuincd by the parents of the sayd virgins, widdowes &c. or their kinsfolkes, tutors, or procuratours, be put to death: and then further it is enacted, *vt huic pena omnes subiaceant &c.* that all be lyable to the same punishment, whether the fact were committed with the consent, or against the will of the sayd Religious woman, Diaconesse, or widdow. So as not only the sinne of rape, but their voluntary lapse is also punished by death, in such as had abused virgins &c. Wherof I conclude all manner of authority to stand for vs for the lawfullnes of vowes. And continent life: and he who listeth to see this matter more confirmed, and all arguments solued, which the Protestants obiect to the contrary, may read the same very learnedly and largely handled by the Aurther of the worke, entituled *of Policy & Religion*, in the second part, and third Chapter, of which if I had not bene ignorant, and taken my first view thereof after that I had ended, what I haue now written, I should haue vsed his labour, and spared myncowne, and remitted M. Hall to that graue and learned Author for a sincere, full, and resolute satisfaction.

M. Thomas Fitzherbert Priest now of the Society of Iesus.

THE SECOND PART
OF THIS PARAGRAFFE.

*Wherein the obseruance of the vow of chastity is
proued not to be impo'sible, and other points
beso e mentioned, touching the Apostles pra-
ctise, and Constitution &c. are discussed.*

OF the five vntruthes touched in the begin-
ning of the former Paragraffe to be vttered
together by M. Hall, the fourth was, if you re-
member, the impossible necessity which he supposed M. Hall
to be in the vow of a single life: for measuring measures
the ability of Catholikes by himselfe, and his the chastity
fellow Ministers, he telleth vs of scanning of ty of Cath-
his former rule, *inturpi voto muta decretum*, if they tholike
had not rather, sayth he, *caute, si non caste*, as if all Priests by
Catholikes were incontinent who vowed cha- that which
stity, by reason of the impossibility supposed, he finds in
but yet that they concealed the matter so, as if English
nothing were knowne of that which yet indeed Ministers.
is done: but we no lesse declaim from this cloke,
then from the thing it selfe, neither should this
companion haue beene so bold to charge, wher
(setting lyes and slanders aside) he had no shad-
dow of prooffe: that wicked rule of couering a
filthy life with fawned vertue, and beastly be-
hauour with exteriour honesty, although it
concerne some on all sides, for amongst great
multitudes wicked will not want, and among
them such also who though rotten in the roor,
will yet shew fayer in the rynd; notwithstanding this is verified as much in English Mini-
sters

sters as in any other whatsoeuer, which (least I seeme by way of recrimination only to retort) may perhaps be proued out of this very principle, begged by M. Hall, but not graunted by vs, that the vow of chastity is *impossible*, and the argument may be framed in this manner. Perpetuall chastity is a thing impossible, but some Ministers in England and Bishops also neuer had any wife, and are now old men, & not like to haue any, the consequence wil follow which I will not expresse: and if M. Hall will persist to vrge vs by false accusations, he may chance hear me proue him this better by some true examples then by any mood or figure of *alogical syllogisme*: and my examples shall be taken from the liues of his owne Brethren and Lords, who though vnmarried haue neither so *caute*, nor *caste* carryed themselves, but that their behauiour is knowne, and lewdnes is lyable to open prooffe, and demonstratiue euiction.

2. Which course vnles his intemperate scurrility, and iniurious calumniation force me thereto, I abhorre to take, and willingly in disputing of matters of Religion discusse the cause, not touch the persons: and this seely manner of forcing vs to the contrary, shall soone find by ripping vp the particulars what disadvantage he giues against himselfe, in so much as his friends shall haue little cause to thanke him (his fellow Ministers I meane) for rubbing so much on this soare, whose liues are such as most barrs and benches of the land will afford vs testimonies of their vertues, their neighbours of their liues in generall, many records of speciall accusations

Many of
our English
married
Ministers in
continent.

sations, and some pilleries and gibbets also of their due deserued shame: and all this not for faults forged by malice, as in the case of Catholike Priests it fals out, where truth is made treason by Law, and fidelity to God & his Church disloyalty to the Prince, and enmity to the state: but by such cleere and euident proofes, as euen compelled the delinquents themselues to confesse their faults, to cleere their accusers, and accept their punishments as due vnto them by iustice, and to haue beene more mildly and mercifully inflicted, then the atrocity of their offence did require: the labour wil be long, because the store is so great of these good fellowes in this carnall Cleargy: and *M. Hull* needed not to haue been so hasty to slander others with his lyes abroad, that hath so many infamous examples of his owne cote at home. I speake not of his priuate person which I will not touch, but of others of his ranke and profession, of whome the tymes past & present yield vs much homely matter in this kind: but not to go further in this till I be further vrged, I returne to the impossibility.

3. Whereas therfore *M. Hall* sayth that the vow of chastity, casteth vpon the makers an impossiblenecessity, this impossibility may spring from diuers heads, and so *Luther* sometymes assigneth one cause therof, sometymes another; as first he casteth it vpon the nature of our body, which sayth he, is made of womans flesh: *Corpus nostrum* *Epist. ad V Volf. Reisenb.* *pene in vniuersum muliebris caro est:* Wherefore he that wil not marry must leaue the name of man, and the contrary vow is impossible, *impium, nullius momenti*, impossible, wicked, of no moment. Secondly

The cause why *Luther* held the vow of chastity impossible.

60 *An Answer to M. Halls Apology,*

condly for that it is as naturall and necessary to marry as to be a man, woman &c. or as to eat, drinke and the like. Thirdly he deduceth it out of the end of mans creation: *Nemo hominum* (saith he) *ad continentiam creatus est, sed omnes vnā ad generandum sobolem conditi sumus, & ad matrimony tolerandas iniurias.* No man is borne to liue continent, but all of vs together are created to beget children, and vndergo the miseries of marriage. Lastly for that chastity is the gift of God, and independent of vs, in vowing chastity, sayth he, what els doth he do but vow a thing, *Qua prorsum nec est, nec esse potest in manibus suis, cum sit iohannis Dei donum, quod accipere, non offerre potest homo:* Vow I say a thing which is not, nor cannot be in our hands, because it is Gods gift alone, which a man can receaue but not offer: so as heere out of mans infirmity, his essentiall substance, the end of his making, and the nature of the vertue it selfe which is supernatural, and requireth speciall help, and influx from God, we haue these vowes to be impossible, and not that only but further by a contrary command to be condemned, euen by him to whome & for whome alone they are made and offered by the makers.

4. How far M. Hall approueth all these opinions, I know not, for heere without any reason he only supposeth his vnreasonable position and I find him not els where to insist on any other ground, then that only of the weakenes or imbecillity of Nature: for in another letter to *S^t Thomas Challenor*, in which he slaunders (if his word be a slander) the vertuous Religious Virgins of *Bruxells*, after some other folcyes, which

I let

*Zocis sup.
citatis.*

*Tom. i. c.
7. prima
ad Corins.*

*De votis
Monast.*

*Lutherus
Bucerus,
Pellicanus
sup. citati.*

*Decad. 1.
epist. 5.*

I let passe, thus he writteth: They are willingly constrained (sayeth he) to serue a maister, whome they must and cannot obey, whome they neither can forsake for their vowes, nor can please for their frailty: what follows hence but sorrow, secret mischiefe, misery irremediable. So this wanton companion. But God, and before God and his Angells, their owne consciences, & the whole world are witnessers of their purity, and so far they are from all sorrow, mischiefe, misery, as this man is from all truth, conscience, or honesty: for besides that their innocency is so well knowne, and acknowledged, if this axiome or rule of his may be graunted, none would find greater sorrow, runne into more mischiefe and misery, then married men.

A malicious surmise of the English Religious of Bruxells.

5. And not to exemplify in any other then himselfe, I demand when he was in France last with the L. Hayes, and was so long absent from his wife, whether he would hold him for an honest man, who should either openly charge, or closely by insinuation cast forth suspicions that both he, and at that tyme, was naught with other women at Paris, and his wife with some other men in England? For any may as well say of them both, as he of these vertuous Virgins, flesh is fraile, and M. Hall and his wife were far asunder, temptations are frequent, a continent life is impossible, especially amongst Ministers, for of such as had *primitias spiritus*, when as yet this new Ghospell was, as M. Iewell in his Latin Apology reporteth, *in herba, in the grasse or first growth*, Erasmus euen at that tyme did write of them all: *Qua (malum) est ista tanta salacitas? unde tanta carnis rebellio in ijs qui se instant agi spiritus Christi?*

What

What so great lasciuiousnes is this with a mischief? whence happens it that so great rebellioⁿ of flesh is in these (Ministers) who brag that they are lead by the Spirit of Christ? Which being so, that Ministers are so wanton, their wiues oftentimes but light huswiues, whereas M. Hall was far from home, and aswell he as his wife like others of the same impression, are both fraile and fleshly, *what followes hence? but late sorrow, secret mischise, misery irremediable?*

6. Were this Christian dealing M. Hall? doth it become a Minister, a Doctour, a Preacher, and Character-maker thus to write? This is indeed *& satyra*, and *sat ira*, to vse your owne words: for heere is more bitterness and rancour then discretion or modesty, and this veine of writing may much better beseme some light headed satyirical Poet, then one that would faine be taken for a sober Deuine. For standing on these grounds and impossibility, I may well say to M. Hall, is it possible for you and your wife, so many moneths to liue chastly asunder (if you did liue chastly) and is it impossible that these virgins whose whole life is a continuall practise of vertue, after their vowes should remaine chaste? or can you deuise a better argument to proue their incorrupted purity in any tribunal of the world, the that which they do bring, I meane the testimonies of al, as well friends, as enemyes that know the, for they liue not in any obscure corner, but the eye of the world; thither still resort forren Catholikes, thither Heretiks of all sects, thither come many English, & there now for many yeares haue resided either Embassadors

balladours or Agents to his Maicly our Soueraigne, let euen their enemyes iuridical verdicts be taken vnder their oath, whether any of them euer heard by any of any credit, that Angelicall company, either in generall, or particuler to be touched, or so much as suspected in that kind? & why then do you so maliciously go about to slander them? Why do you endcauour to make others suspect ill of such, who yet neuer gaue the least occasion of any ill suspition? What learning or conscience can warrant this dealing? I doubt not, but if your wife should aske you, *M. Hall*, how you liued out of wedlocke so many yeares before you were marryed vnto her, but that you would cleare your selfe, and make her belicue, that you were an honest man: and the like would she say and swear vnto you, if you should aske her, and yet in al that tyme was flesh fraile, many temptations occurred, and if for so many yeares together you could both liue a chaste life, why no more? why not alwayes? Is it possible for you to liue the one part of your life (and that the more dangerous / chastly, and is it impossible to liue the other? I would gladly know thereason hereof, & wherein it is grounded, why I say the later part should more force vs to marry then the former.

The spirit of Catholike Religious Nunnes is far different from the spirit of the hereticall English Ministers

7. Againe this impossibility cannot stand with the doctrine of *S. Paul* condemning the yong widdowes mentioned, and counsailling *S. Timothy* to liue chaste, nor yet with the common doctrine of all the Fathersexhorting to virginity, especially *S. Ambrose* and *S. Augustine* in their speciall bookes thereof, of which two *S. Bernard* sayd:

The impossibility of a chaste life refused by *S. Paul*. 1. *Tim.* 5.

Bernard. sayd : *Ab his duabus columnis, Augustino loquor & Ambrosio, crede mihi difficile auellor* : From which two pillars, *Augustine* I meane and *Ambrose*, belecue me I am very hardly drawne : for where there is impossibility or necessity, there is no sinne, no counsaile, no exhortation; as none sinne in not making new stars, in not remouing of mounteynes, in not working new miracles : and it were ridiculous for any preacher to go about to perswade their Auditors to absteyne from all meate and drinke, sleep and rest, because it is impossible that our life can passe without these helps : and no lesse impertinent was it in the Fathers to preach perpetuall chastity, to veile Virgins, to punish vow-breakers, whenas they could not alter their natures, it being as impossible for them, as these men will haue it to continue in that purity, as to liue without meate, drinke, or rest, yea or as it is for women not to be women, or men not men : and as no man is punished for that he is a man, so no woman can be punished for breaking her vow, the one as *Luther* doth teach being as necessary as the other : to such straits are they driuen who put these wicked, prophane, and detestable impossibilities.

The principles of Protestants open the way vnto all lasciuiousnes.

8. Which doctrine how wide a gap it further opens to all lasciuiousnes, I shall not need to write, for this will also ensue therof, that no Father can blame his child for being incontinent : for if he plead this impossibility, what can the Father reply? you will say, perhaps, he is bound to provide in this case a husband for his daughter, and wife for his sonne : but that is not a worke of an houres warning, and if in the

the meane tyme they be tempted what shal they do? to containe implyes an *impossibility* to do otherwise, is to offend their parents and shame themselves: offend their parents, I say, for they cannot offend God, when it lyeth not in their powers to do the contrary. If M. Hall say that for a while they are able to liue chaste, but not for any long tyme; I aske againe how long that while shall endure, and what warrant they haue therein for not falling, seeing it may, so fall out that in the while appointed, they may be more tempted then they shalbe againe in al their liues after, or were euer perhaps in their liues before, what then shal they do? if this temptacion bring an *impossibility* for ouercomming it, then are parents most cruell tyrants that punish their childrens incontinency, which lyeth not in their power to auoyde, but are forced thereunto by an ineuitable necessity: If the children be faulty, then it lay in their power not to fall, then was there no necessity, then as they could overcome this tentation, they might as well overcome another, overcome all, and remayne chaste out of wedlocke to the end of their liues: where is the necessity? where the *impossibility*? And the same difficulty occurs in such as hauing bene marryed for a tyme are after some occasion, as discord, diseases &c. separated the one from the other, &c. forced to liue a sunder all dayes of their liues, what shall such do? liue together they cannot, marry againe they may not, to liue continent with this man is impossible, what remedy is to be taken? must they be premitted to wallow in all vnlawfull wantones? that is more then

M Hall
hardly
pressed.

66 *An Answer to M. Halles Apology,*
the very Turks *Alcoran* will allow them.

The ob-
servance
of the
vow of
chastity is
in our
power &
not im-
possible.
August de
gratia &
lib. arbit.
cap. 4.

9. Besides these incōueniences we say with
S. Augustine, that the thing is in our power, and
although it require the assistance of Gods grace
(which still preuenteth our wills) yet that hin-
ders not, but that we may if we list our selues,
liue chaste all dayes of our life, as we may belieue
in God, as we may loue him, and for him our
neighbour, which no lesse require Gods grace
for their performance, then perpetuall chastity:
Namquid tam multa qua praeipiuntur in lege Dei &c.
Doso many things as are commanded in the law
of God, to wit, that neither fornications, nor

α adulteries be committed, shew vs any thing els
α then free will? For they should not be comman-
α ded vnles a man had free will wherby he might
α obey the diuine Commandments, and yet it is
α the gift of God, without which the precepts of
α chastity cannot be kept. So *S. Augustine*: and a
little after answering the obiection of this r-
nall impossibility: *si dixeris, volo seruare, sed vincor*
α *a concupiscentia mea &c.* If any shall say I desire to
α be chaste, but am overcome of my concupiscence
α (as *M. Hall*, *Luther*, and our English Ministers) the
α Scripture answereth to the free will of such a
α one that which before I sayd, *Noli vinci a malo, sed*
vince in bono malum: be not overcome of euill, but
overcome euill with good, which grace doth
help vs to do. So he. Neuer dreaming of these
impossible fancies which *M. Hall* and his do frame;

Rom. 12.

10. For supposing such a necessity of natu-
re, fornication or adultery should not be sinnes
at all as I haue sayd, because they are not volun-
tary, but violent; as no man sinneth in not do-
ing

ing
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Con
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carry
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nicat
fill, or
owne
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that i
impos
to ou
is guil
transg
11.
the ch
no les
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will i
may n
vowes
alike
our w
in one

ing what he is not able, or in yielding to that which lay not in his power to withstand: as no sole man commanded by his king to subdue *Constantinople*, or take the vast Kingdome of *China* can be punished if he do it not, for the surprising of the one, and conquest of the other, cannot be done without many thousands, or can he put any one to death for not going into the East, who was bound hand and foot, and violently carryed by others into the West: so if women be as necessary as our nature, as filthy *Luther* did as-
 firme, and to liue chaste be impossible, as *M. Hall*; how are men commanded not to commit fornication and adultery, which they cannot full-
 fill, or are punished for the fact, which not their owne wills did moue, but violence did compel them to commit? Wherefore if we will graunt it to be a sin, we must with all necessarily graunt that it lay in our power, which without any impossibility was able to auoyd it, yea was bound to overcome it, and for not overcoming it is guilty of the offence, and condemned for the transgression:

II. And the same falleth out in wedlocke, the chastity of which requireth a speciall grace, **Wedlock** no lesse then virginity: which grace as it profits requireth a speciall the weaknes of nature, so is it neuer wanting, a speciall where the will is ready to accept it, which grace for the chastity will is also preuented by the same grace, that it ty requi- may not refuse to take it, and therefore both the red the id
 vowes of virgins, and chastity of wedlocke are which yet
 alike exacted, as both resting in our power, in resteth in
 our wills, and ability, which point *S. Augustine* our power
 in one place doth excellently deliuer saying: to performe.

August de Arbitrio humana voluntatis nequaquam destruimus &c.
bono vidu- We destroy not the freedome of mans will,
it. cap. 17. when not out of proud ingratitude we deny, but

» out of a grateful piety we acknowledge the grace
 » of God by which free will is holpen, it resteth
 » in vs to will or desire, but the wil it selfe is war-
 » ned that it may rise, is cured that it may be able,
 » is enlarged that it may receaue, and is filled that
 » it may haue: for if we would not, then truly
 » neither should we receaue the thinges that are
 » giuen vs, nor should we haue them. For who
 » hath continency (that amongst other gifts of
 » God I may speake of this, of which I speake to
 » your selfe) who I say should haue continency,
 » but he who would haue it? For no man would
 » take it, but he who would haue it: but if yow
 » aske me of whome it is giuen that it may be re-
 » ceaued, and had of our wil, marke the Scripture,
 » yea because you know it, remember what you
 » haue read: When I knew, sayth Wisedome,
 » that no man could be continent, vnles God
 » gaue it, and this was a part of wisdome to
 » know whose gift it was: for these are great gifts,
 » wisdome and continency, wisdome I say by
 » which we are framed in the knowledge of God;
 » and continency by which we are withdrawne
 » from the world. God commandeth vs that we
 » be wise, that we be continent, without which
 » benefites we cannot be iust and perfect. And a
 » little after: *Qui dedit coniugatis fidelibus vt continent*
 » *ab adulterijs &c.* He who hath giuen grace to mar-
 » ried folke that they abstaine from aduowtries,
 » or fornications, he hath also giuen grace to ho-
 » ly virgins and widdows to conteyne themselues
 from

from all knowledge of men, in which vertue, integrity of life (oy continuall chastity) and continency are now properly named, So S. Augustine. Out of whose words, I frame against M. Hall this Syllogisme: It is as well in the power of single men to be alwayes continēt, as it is in the power of the married to keep coniugall chastity: but the chastity of wedlocke is in the power of the married: Ergo the other is in the power of the continent: and then further out of the same Father; Gods concurrence with vs by his grace (which in euery good action is necessary) overthroweth not our free will, but doth perfect it, and consequently as well the election, as obseruance of single life doth rest alwayes in our power and will, and is not impossible and necessary, but free and voluntary.

Let M. Hall mark well this argument

12. And if in the state of matrimony grace be giuen to both parties to remayne saythfull to ech other, and that to the end of their liues, notwithstanding that continall cohabitation breed so many causes of distast, and the feruentest affections in many do wax cold, and much decrease with tyme; shall such want his help, who for his loue despise all earthly louers, and haue made choice of himself the author & louer of all pure desires? Shall he better loue such, who are deuided as the Apostle sayth from his seruice by marriage, then those who to serue him the better, haue withdrawne themselves from all worldly encombrances that might deuide them, and bestowed themselves wholly vpon his seruice? or shall the grace of God graunted to virgins be of lesse force to keep them saythfull to

Virgins as more vni-
ted vnto
God then
married
folke, so
haue more
strength
to perse-
uere in
their vo-
cation.

their louer, then that which is giuen to them;
who for carnall loue are combyned togeather?

These men who are thus perswaded would ne-

August. l.

de virgin.

cap. 54.

Ambr. l.

3. de virgi-

nib. in iij.

uer preach vnto virgins, as S. Augustin did when
he sayd: *Si nuptias contempsistis filiorum hominum, ex*
quibus gigneretis filios hominum, toto corde amate specio-
sum forma præ filijs hominum: vacat vobis, liberum est
cor à coniugalibus vinculis, inspicite pulchritudinem amato-
ri vestri &c. If you haue despised the marriages

of the sonnes of men, by whome you might be-

get the sonnes of men, with all your hart loue

him who is fayer then the sonnes of men. You

haue leasure inough, your hart is free from ma-

trimony bands, looke vpon the beauty of your

louer. So. *Augustine.* And againe; *Si magnum ama-*

Lib. citat.

cap. 55.

tem coniugibus deberetis &c. If you should owe great

loue to your husbands, how much ought you to

loue him, for whose sake you haue refused hus-

bands? Let him be wholly fixed in your hart who

for you was fixed on the Crosse, let him possesse

al in your soule whatsoeuer you would not haue

bestowed in other marriage, is it not lawfull

for you to loue him a little, for whom you haue

not loued that which was els lawfull for you to

loue. And not to go further to shew the thing

possible, to shew it to be in our power to stand

or fall, to breake off, or perseuere, to begin and

continue vnto the end, he sayth: *Vas autem sequi-*

Cap. 58.

mini cum tenendo perseveranter quod vouistis, ardentem fa-

cite cum potestis, ne virginitatis bonum à vobis pereat,

cum facere nihil potestis vt redeat. You virgins see

you follow Christ perseverantly, keeping what

you haue vowed, labour earnestly whiles you

are able, least yett lose your virginity, sithence

you

you are able to do nothing, that if it be lost is
able to recouer it. So he. And doth he who so
teacheth, so exhorteth thinke of M. Halls imposs-
ibility? Doth he thinke that such virgins serue a
Maister whome they must and cannot obey? whome they
must for their vow, and cannot for their frailty? His
words are too cleare to be corrupted by so base
a commentary.

13. And no lesse plaine, no lesse absolute
for this purpose is S. Ambrose, whose diuin books
of this subiect I with M. Hall to read: for in them
he shall find the excellency of this vertue, not
more eloquently then truely described: there he
shall see the arguments of Protestants answered,
there the keeping of vows vrged, veiling of Nuns
mentioned, this impossibility refuted: for to
such as did cast these suspicious doubts, he sayth:
Facebat hic sacris virginibus metus, quibus tanta præsidia
tribuit primum Ecclesia &c. Let this feare of falling
be far from holy virgins, to whome first the
Church affoordeth so many helpes, which care-
full for the successe of her tender issue, with full uers helpe
breasts as a wall doth defend the same, vntill the
siege of the enemy be remoued: then secondly
of our Sauour with stronger force, and last of
Angels: *Neque enim mirum, si pro vobis Angeli militant,*
qua Angelorum moribus militatis: meretur eorum præsidium
castitas, quorum vitam meretur: castitas etiam An-
gelos facit. It is no meruaile if for you Virgins
the Angells do warre, who in your behauour
do follow the purity of Angells: virginall cha-
stity deserues their help, whose life it deserues:
for chastity also maketh Angels. And in another
place hauing perswaded them to ascend aboue

Ambr. 1.
de Virgin.
propos. 1. &
The di-

which
virgins
haue for
their per-
seuerance.

the world saying: Iustice is about the world;
 charity is about the world, chastity is about the
 world, and the like, he proposeth this difficul-
 ty which M. Hall proposeth, saying: *Sed arduum*
putas humana virtute supra mundum ascendere: bene asseris
&c. But if you thinke it a hard matter for hu-
 mane force to ascend about the world: you say
 well. For the Apostles deserved to be about the
 world, not as fellows, but as followers of Christ
 to wit, as his disciples, be thou also disciple, be
 a follower of Christ, he prayeth for thee who
 prayed for them: for he sayd I pray not only for
 my Apostles, but for those who by their doctrine
 shall believe in me, that all may be one; therefore
 our Lord will haue vs to be one, that we may be
 all about the world, that there be one chastity,
 one will, one goodnes, one grace. So S. Ambrose.
 Out of which wordes M. Hall may learne from
 whence all Religious haue their strength and
 force to continue vntil the end, to wit, from the
 merit of the prayer of our Saviour, and his pecu-
 liar assistance.

14. Furthermore concerning such enemies
 of purity, as M. Hall, who carped at S. Ambrose for
 his so feruent, so frequent perswading to chasti-
 ty, and forbidding Religious women to marry,
 thus he putteth downe his aduersaries charge,
 and his owne answer: *Initiata inquit sacris myste-*
rijs, & consecratas integritati puellas, nubere prohibes.
 You forbid, sayth my accuser, such as are entred
 into Religion, and haue professed chastity to
 marry; to which he replyes: *Vtinam possem renouare*
nuptias, ut, utinam possem flammearum nuptiale pio integrita-
tis mutare velamine &c. I would to God I were
 able

able to hinder euen such as are to marry, I would
to God I were able to change the veile of mar-
riage with the veile of virginity; doth it seeme a
thing vnworthy to you that the holy virgins be
not drawne from the sacred altars to marry? &
for them to whome it is lawfull to chuse their
husband, is it not lawfull for them to preferre
God? And a little after he demandeth whether
this be, *improbum, nouum, aut inutile*, vnlawfull,
new, or vnprofitable: and against the first, that
is against M. Hall, he sheweth that it is not bad, This M. Hall will
or vnlawfull: for then *improba essent vota omnium*, graunt
improba vita est Angelorum, quàm gratia resurrectionis though S. Ambrose
imitatur; qui enim non nubunt, neq; ducunt vxores erunt do deny.
sicut Angeli in calo. All vowes should be vnlawful,
then is the life of Angells vnlawfull, which the
grace of our resurrection doth imitate; for they
who neither marry, nor are married, shall be
like the Angells in heauen. Thus S. Ambrose,
prouing immediatly after, this life to be of sin-
gular excellency, out of the words of our Sau-
our in S. Matthew of the Eunuches not so borne by
the imperfection of Nature, or made by the ma-
lice of man, but by free election and voluntary
choice, laying violent hands on the Kingdome
of heauen, so framed by themselves: and after
alloweth, yea defendeth the entrance of yong
virgins into Religion, with more to the same ef-
fect, which for auoyding of prolixity I preter-
mit and conclud the possibility of this vow in al
virgins, eyther yong or old, with the words of
Origen, answering an obiection of the Heretiks Origen
tractat. 7.
in Matth.
that this gift is not for all.

15. *Non omnes capiunt verbum hoc:* all men re-

receive not this saying, but to whome it is giuen,
 and thereby some pretended that they would
 willingly haue liued chastly, but were not able:
Quibus est respondendum, siquidem accipimus libenter
quod dictum est, sed quibus datum est &c. to whome it
 is answered (sayth he) if we take that simply,
 which is sayd, *sed quibus datum est*, but to whome
 it is giuen: and marke not what is sayd in ano-
 ther place, *Petite & dabitur vobis, & omnis qui petit*
accipit, aske and it shall be giuen vnto you, and
 euery one who asketh doth receaue: cyther we
 are not of the number of the faythfull, or vnder-
 stand not the Scriptures: for he that will be ca-
 pable of that which is sayd of chastity, let him
 aske, and trust in him who sayth, *& accipiet*, and
 he shall receaue, no way doubting of that which
 is sayd, *omnis qui petit accipit*, euery owne who as-
 keth doth receaue. So *Origen*. In whose words
 is insinuated another ground, from whence not
 only the *possibility*, but *facility* also of these vows do
 proceed, that is from two mayne fountaynes,
 wherof one is the prayer of Christ for vs before
 mentioned, the other is our prayers to him: the
 first for acceptance can haue no repulse: the o-
 ther hath his promise for our assurance, & both
 the one and the other makes all yokes sweet and
 burthens light.

1. And besides these helps there is ano-
 ther from which this power and possibility of
 a chaste life doth principally flow: I meane the
 passion of our Saviour, the meritorious cause of
 all our grace and sanctification, one speciall ef-
 fect whereof is, that by vertue and force deriued
 from the head to the members, they may be able

to exercise all Christian vertues, to offer vp a pure sacrifice of vowed virginity to him, who being the Authour of all purity, and sonne of a virgin, therefore as S. Hierome writeth, among other our redeeming torments, would be crowned with thornes, that from them the roses, lillies, and flowers of virginity, the chief garland of his glorious conquest and triumphant spoile on earth might bud and spring forth: *Ideo Iesus Hier. ep. spinis coronatus est* (sayth he) & *delicta nostra portauit ad Deme- triad. anto med.* Therefore was Iesus crowned with thornes, did beare our offenses, and lamented for vs, that out of the thornes and tribulations of women, to whome it was sayd, the woman shall bring forth her children in sorrow and griefe &c. the rose of virginity, and lillies of chastity might spring vp: for this causedoth the bride-groome feed amongst the lillies, and among them who haue not defiled their garments, because they haue remayned virgins, and haue obeyed that commandment: Let thy garments be alwayes white: and the Author and Prince of viginity *Cant. 2. Apoc. 14. Eccles. 9. Cant. 2.* speaketh confidently: I am the flower of the field, and lilly of valleyes. So S. Hierome.

17. From whose wordes I gather, our Adversaryes in this to be iniurious to our Sauours passion, who in other things, as after we shal see to rid their hands of all labour, will out of presumptuous temerity seeme to rely thereon more then they should: for as from that euer flowing founteyne, or rather full ocean of merits & mercyes, whatsoeuer force we haue to practise any action of piety is deryued, so to deny the same vnto this particuler, so particularly gratefull

vnto

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 and thereby some pretended that they would
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 &c. Therfore was Iesus crowned with thornes, ^{med.} did beare our offenses, and lamented for vs, that out of the thornes and tribulations of women, to whome it was sayd, the woman shall bring forth her children in sorrow and griefe &c. the rose of virginity, and lillies of chastity might spring vp: for this causedoth the bride-groome feed amongst the lillies, and among them who ^{Cant. 2.} haue not defiled their garments, because they ^{Apo. 14.} haue remayned virgins, and haue obeyed that ^{Eccles. 9.} commandment: Let thy garments be alwayes white; and the Author and Prince of viginity ^{Cant. 2.} speaketh confidently: I am the flower of the field, and lilly of valleyes. So S. Hierome.

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vnto him, as to make it a thing impossible, what is it els then to weaken the force, diminish the value, and in a manner euacuate the whole effect of his suffering? And to make such as are redeemed by his blood, sanctified by his grace, & partakers of his merits, to be as faint and feeble in the workes of vertue, as any Pagan or Infidell liuing vnder the imbecillity of nature, and altogether deuoyd of these supernaturall helpes: & which is more, to make that to be impossible to Christians which amongst Iewes, Pagans, Heretiks, and infidells if we belicue the records of all antiquity hath in exterior proofe and practise been found possible: & out of this which I haue deliuered, we see this impossibility so diuersly refuted by the Fathers, as there are diuers meanes by them assigned to the contrary. *S. Ambrose* as you haue heard named the protection of the Church, the patronage of Angells, the prayer of Christ; *S. Augustine* addeth our free will preuented by grace; *Origen*, our prayers proceeding from both; *S. Hierome*, the grace and merit of Christ his passion peculiarly applied to virgins, all these prayed, al preached, al perswaded virginity, and not one of them all euer taught, thought of this fancy, nor yet any other heretike before *Luther* (whose incontinency was notorious) that I can remember: for albeit some abused the worth therof, & aduanced marriage too far, and because they could not reach to the highest, would confound high and low, gold & silver, heaven and earth, marriage and virginity together, yet were they not so sauage, as to say that a chaste life was impossible, or by an vnauoydable

auoydable necessity subiect to secret mischiefe,
and irremediable misery, as this man and his matter
doth tell vs.

18. And this being supposed that women the
weaker sex can both lawfully vow virginity, &
perseuere in the same to the end; there seemeth
to be no lesse difficulty in vowes of Clergy men
which proceed no lesse from their owne free &
deliberate election: for the Church forceth none
thereunto, but only to keep the vowes which
without any enforcement they haue made,
which is the very case of the widdowes before
mentioned in S. Paul, and being come to so ripe
age, to so perfect knowledge of themselves, and of Clergy
their owne forces, they may if they list take v-
pon them this sweet and easy yoke of a purer ^{men vo-}
life, best becomming the calling and function of ^{luntarily}
an Ecclesiasticall man, and not about the power ^{made per-}
and ability of any that will sincerely imbrace it, ^{formed}
with faci-
lity.
and vse the ordinary meanes of prayer and such
things as make our prayers more available, as
fasting, haire cloath, disciplines, and other mor-
tifications to preserue it: for if yong virgins (to
vse S. *Augustins* argument, which he vsed against *August. 1.*
himselfe being yet in heresy, when he was per- *8. Confes-*
swaded as our Protestants are that he could not *son. c. 11.*
conteyne) if yong virgins I say in all ages haue
vowed and dedicated their virginity to God, &
with so singular constancy haue preserued it,
why may not mature men do the like? and if to
them not only marriage be vnlawfull as S. *Aug-*
ustine sayth, but euen the desire of marrying be
damnable, why may not Clergy men also vow,
and by their vowes be bound to conteyne or pu-
nished

78 *Answere to M. Halls Apology,*
punished if they transgresse?

Many vn-
willingly
made
Priests,
who yet
were
bound to
liue chaste
in the time
of S. Au-
gustine.

August. 1.
2. de adul-
terinis cō-
iugijs cap.
vltimo.

19. Yea so much is this within our power,
assisted with Gods grace, which is neuer wan-
ting, if we be not wanting to our selues, that in
case any who had no calling to an ecclesiasticall
life should vnwillingly be promoted thereunto,
yet were he bound vnto this chastity, to vow it
I say, and neuer vnder deadly sinne to violate
his vow: this if the Church now should pra-
ctise, how would M. Hall, and his lasciuious
companions brand vs with *Antichristianisme*, crye
out vpon vnlawfull vowes, forced continency,
impossible necessity? How would he not stir vp his
impure wit to inuent if he could baser tearmes
then of *shauelings*, a *filthy vow*, a *Popish tyranny*, a
doctrine of Diuells? and yet this was not only appro-
ued, but practised also in the primitiue Church,
and that very vsually: for thus writeth S. Augu-
stine against such as committed aduowtry, be-
cause as they sayd, they could not conteyne,
which I feare me will proue the center of perfe-
ction of our married Ministers: *Quando terrenus*
ne adulterini coniugijs habendo pereant in aeternum, solemus
eis proponere continentiam Clericorum, qui plerumq; ad
eandem sarcinam subeundam rapiuntur inuiti &c. When
we terrify men (sayth he) least in their aduow-
trous marriages they euerlastingly perish, we are
wont to lay before them the continency of Cler-
gymen, who for the most part are taken against
their wills to vndergo that burthen, & hauing
vndergone it, beare it through to the end. We
say therefore vnto the aduowtresse, what if you
also by violence of people should be taken to
beare this burthen? Would yow not chastly per-
forme

forme the office impoled vpon you, and presently turne your selues to aske strength of God, of which before you did not thinke vpon? but they say that the honour doth much comfort Clergy men, and we do answer them, let feare also withhold you: for if many of Gods Ministers haue receaued the office sodenly, and without further thinking thereon, because they hope therby to shine more gloriously in the kingdom of Christ, haue liued chaste; how much more ought you by auoyding aduowtry to liue chastly, tearing (not to shine lesse in the kingdome of God but) to burne in hell fire? *Hirberto S. Augustine*. And where at this tyme was the impossibility of which *M. Hall* heere dreameth? necessity I graunt there is of obseruing the vow once made and facility, impossibility there is none.

20. There would be no end, if I should alledge the Fathers words for the possibility of single life. *S. Augustine* shall suffice; who sayth: *August. 1. Non terreat sarcina continentia; leuis erit si Christi eris, Christi eris si fides aderit qua impetrat à iubente quod iusserit.* Let not the burthen of continency affright vs, it will proue light if it be of Christ, it will be of Christ if we haue confidence, which obteynes the thing commanded of him that commands. So he. And in another place speaking of these vowes, and how far they bind the makers, he hath these wordes: *Quod cuiquam antequam vniuerter licebat &c.* that which any man might lawfully do before he vowed; seeing he hath vowed neuer to do it, shall be vnlawful, but so as he vowed, that which was to be vowed, as is perpetual virginity, or continency after wedlocke in

August. 1. de adul. coniugijs cap. 19.

De adul. coniug. l. 1. cap. 24.

in such as are loosed from the band of matrimo-
 ny by the death of one party, els let the sayth-
 full & chaste couple being aliue by mutuall con-
 sent release to ech other these carnall duties,
 which for the one to vow, without the other
 is vnlawfull. These things therefore, and the
 like which are lawfully vowed, when men
 haue vowed, are by no means to be violated
 &c. Thus far S. *Augustine*. With more to the
 same effect, in many other places of his workes,
 and so easy he maketh this matter to be, as if
 God did graunt nothing to man more willingly
 then this vertue of a pure life: *Si pulsant* (sayth
 he) *qui desiderant castitatem, dat eis continuò gratiam &*
sanctitatem. If they knocke at the dore of his mer-
 cy who desire chastity, he giueth them presently
 grace and sanctity: and if this in Gods graunte
 be so easy, from whence commeth the impos-
 sibility in our performance?

August.
serm. 171.
desimpore.

21. Notwithstanding al that hitherto hath
 beene sayd against M. Halles impossibility, yet to
 end this matter, I must and will condescend so
 far vnto him, as freely to graunt that amongst
 Ministers it is impossible to liue chaste, taking
 the word impossible in that sense, which the Apo-
 stle did, when he sayd: *Impossibile est eos qui semel*
sunt illuminati, gustauerunt etiam donum celeste &c. It
 is impossible for them who haue beene once en-
 lightned, haue also tasted the heauenly gift &c.
 & are fallen, to be renewed againe to pennance;
 whereby impossible, as many interprete, is vnder-
 stood a great and singuler difficulty of rising a-
 gaine of such as are once fallen, and so in this
 case we now treat of, albeit amongst heretikes,
 Iewes,

How cha-
 stity a-
 mong Mi-
 nisters is
 impossi-
 ble.

Hebr. 6.

Jewes, and Pagans to liue chaste be not absolutely impossible: for some euen among the ancient Romans are reported so to haue liued, and continued till their deaths, and may also among Heretikes, yet were those very rare, and the difficulty very great, as the histories do recount, & much greater it is in Heretikes, & that for two reasons; the one of their persons, the other of the place: of their persons because for the most part all heretikes do preach carnall liberty, and take away all meanes of corporall austerities by which the flesh is kept in subiection to the spirit, and her rebellious appetits overcome & subdued, in which point we haue M. Halls cleare confession saying: *All false Religions are carnall, and carry the face of nature their Mother, and of him whose illusion begot them, Sathan.* And long before him S.

Hall. Dea
cad. 3. ep. 35

Hierome wrote: *Nulla heresis nisi propter gulam ventremque constituitur, ut seducat mulierculas oneratas peccatis.*

Hieron. in
co. 4. Hier
remia 8

There is no herely begun, but eyther for gluttony, or the belly, that it may seduce light women loaden with sinnes. And this being the doctrine, this the practise of all Heretikes, and the one & the other so repugnant to chastity, no meruaile if they esteeme it almost as impossible: to themselves thus disposed so to liue, as it is impossible for one to see where there is no light, or to walke where there is no place to fix his feet.

22. A chaste life as it is a peculiar gift of God, and speciall grace, so it requireth also many things in the receauer to conserue it, as much meanes to prayer, mortification, watch and custody of our senses, a humble a lowly mind, a great care to auoyd all idlenes, and to liue vnited with God,

and the like, which Heretikes not attending vnto, but the contrary (for how can he be vnited vnto Almighty God, who by schisme is separated from his Church, and by that separation is become deuoyd of grace, humility, all other vertue and supernaturall help) they may well in their wordes still speake of the spirit, who in their breasts haue no sparke thereof, and prate of vertue, who practise none; & blush not to blaze in pulpits, and printed books this brutish Paradoxe, that chastity is a vertue impossible to all, because so it is to such lasciuious libertines, sensual and sinnefull people as heretikes are: for it is not one only wantonnes, but many sinnes together that alwayes attend and follow heresy, which makes all heretikes more prone to fall, and more feeble to resist tentations then other men: *Si quis dicat* (sayth S. Augustine) *hæreticus est, non potest*

August. 1. hoc solum esse, quin & alia consequantur: carnalis est enim
4 de Bapt. & animalis ac per hoc amulus sit necesse est, & animosus
cap. 20. & inuidus, & inimicus ipsi veritati, ab eaq; dissentiens.

“ If any one say he is an heretike, he cannot alone
 “ be such a one, but that many other things must
 “ follow: for he is carnall and sensuall, and consequently he is also contentious, stubborne and
 “ enuious, and an enemy to truth it selfe, and disagreeing from the same. So S. Augustine, and that men so qualified should be chaste, is a thing of great difficulty, if not altogether impossible.

23. Again the place yieldeth great disadvantage to our aduersaryes: for though all Iews and Gentills be out of the Church, yet only heretikes in hostile campe, as open and professed enemies, do most violently impugne her doctrine,
 The Church of Christ the place of chastity.

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Arine, and scorne her rites, when as yet she is
the spouse of Christ, a pure virgin, but fruitfull
mother of the saythfull, and only proper dwell-
ling place of this vertue: *Ecclesia domus est castitatis*
sayth S. Ambrose, the Church is the house of cha-
stity: *Virginitatis laudem* (sayth S. Chrysostome)
Iudei aduersantur, admirantur & suspiciunt exteri, sola
autem colit Ecclesia Dei. The Iewes abhorre the
praye of virginity, aliens (or such as are out
of the fold of Christs flocke) admire and reue-
rence it, only the Church of God doth obserue
it. And Optatus Mileuitanus: *Ibi & sacerdotia sunt, &*
pudicitia, & virginitas qua barbaris gentibus non sunt, &
si essent tuta esse non possent. In the Church there are
Priests, there is chastity, there is virginity, which
are not amongst the barbarous Gentils (or wan-
ton heretikes) and in case they were, they could
not be secure. So he. And S. Athanasius in his
Apology vnto Constantius the Arian Emperour,
from hence draweth an argument to proue the
truth of Catholike Religion, saying: *Numquam*
sanctum illud & celeste virginitatis mandatum seluiter
adiimpleretur, nisi duntaxat apud nos Christianos, atq; in
eo magnum documentum est, plane apud nos esse veram Re-
ligionem. That holy and heauenly precept of per-
petuall virginity, is only happily performed a-
mong vs (Catholike) Christians, and therby we
gather ours to be the true Religion. So he. And
by this M. Hall may learne where to seeke and
find chastity: and as this gift is giuen to the true
Catholike Church, in which it doth and hath
alwayes flourished euen to the admiration of
Pagans, so hath it very seldome beene found in
any schismaticall company, or hereticall con-

*Ambr. in
psal. 118.
oetou. 6.
Chrysost. l.
de virgin.
cap. 1.
Optatus l.
3. in Parmo*

*Athanasius
Apologus*

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uenticles, which breake the vnyty, & deflower the purity of Christian doctrine: for the life and beliefe of such is commonly alike, being all or the most part without sayth perfidious, without charity contentious, without chastity lasciuious, without all vnyty seditious, disordered and turbulent. And I haue knowne some of speciall note, who leauing this confused *Babylon* of *Protestants* and *Puritans*, and being reconciled to the Catholike Church, haue freely out of their owne most happy experience confessed, that now they found chastity to be very easy, which whiles they were in heresy seemed impossible, yea they could neuer thinke vpon their former frayltyes committed, without great grieffe, compunction, and teares.

24. But for that moderne examples do lesse moue a willfull mind: let M. Hall call to his remembrance the famous conuersion of S. *Augustine* from the *Manichean* heresy, from which not without a strong and extraordinary calling he was recalled to imbrace the Catholike truth, & he shall find that one of the greatest motives to keep him backe, were the carnall pleasures in which whiles he was an heretike he had wallowed: *Retinebant me* (sayth he) *nuga nugarum & vanitates vanitatum antiqua amica mea, & succubabant vestem carneam meam, & submurmurabant: dimittis nos? & à momento isto non erimus tecum vltra in aeternum? & à momento isto non tibi licebit hoc & illud in aeternum?* The toyes of toyes, and vanities of vanities my old familiars kept my backe, & shaked my fleshly garment, and whispered me in the eare saying: dost thou now leaue vs? and from this

The con-
uersion of
S. Augu-
stin shew-
eth the
gift of cha-
stity to be
only in
the
Church.
*August. 1.
& confess.
cap. 11.*

this tyme shall it not be lawfull for euer for thee to do this and that? *Qua sordes iugerebant? quae decora?* What filchy, what dishonest things did they suggest? And being in this bitter conflict, the flesh drawing one way, and the spirit another, the Diuell desirous to deteyne him in error, and God determining to bring him to the truth, his pleasures past alluring him to looke backe, and future pennance affrighting him to go forward, being in this trouble (I say) and wauering of mynd, thus he describeth the successe of the combat.

25. *Aperiebatur ab ea parte qua intenderam faciem & quo transire trepidabam, casta dignitas continentiae &c. Loco citat.*
There appeared vnto me on that side where I did cast my eyes, and was afrayd to go (to wit in the Catholik Church) the chaste excellency of single life, cheerfull and not wantonly pleasant vertuously alluring me to come vnto her, & not to doubt at all, and she stretched forth her deuout hands full with the multitude of good examples of others to receaue and imbrace me: in them were to be seene so many yong boyes and girles, there store of others of youthfull yeares, and elder age, there graue widdowes, and old virgins, and chastity ber selfe in all these was not barren, but a plentiful mother of children, the ioyes of thee, o Lord, who art her husband. *Prosopopea* and she mocked me with a perswasive scorne, as peia. if she had sayd: *Tu non poteris quod isti & ista? an verò isti & ista in semetipsis possunt, ac non in Domino Deo suo? Dominus Deus eorum me dedit eis &c.* Canst not thou do that these yong boyes and maydnes, widdowes and old virgins do? or can these do it of

A description of chastity.

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 themselves, and not in God their Lord? their
 Lord God hath bestowed me vpon them, why
 dost thou stand, and not stand on thy selfe? cast
 thy selfe on him, and feare nothing, he will not
 slip aside, and let thee fall: cast thy selfe securely
 vpon him, he will receaue thee, and he wil cure
 thee, Thus *S. Augustine*: in which wordes as he
 sheweth the proper place of chastity to be in the
 Church, so withall doth he ouerthrow *M. Halles*
 impossibility confuted by the very examples of
 yong boyes, and maydes of all sorts and sexes,
 who in this sacred Arke, this house and taberna-
 cle of God do professe and obserue perpetuall
 chastity.

26. And so far was *S. Augustin* from acknow-
 ledging any impossibility of a continent life in
 the Church of Christ (albeit whiles he was a
Manichean, he thought it a thing impossible to
 liue chaste) that being himselfe now made a Ca-
 tholike, his owne experience without other ar-
 gument demonstrated the contrary vnto him, &

August. l. 1. Confess. cap. 1. made him see the thing not only to be possible,
S. Augustin being made a member of the Ca-
 tholike Church, presently found it an easy
 matter for to liue chaste.
 but most easy also and facile: for thus he writeth
 of himselfe: *Quàm suauē mihi subito factum est carere
 suauitatibus nugarum. & quas amittere metus fuerat, iam
 dimittere gaudium erat &c.* How sweet a thing did
 I find it on the sodain to want the sweetnes of
 former toyes, and now it was a comfort to cast
 away that which before I was afrajd to loose.
 Thou didst cast them out from me, who art the
 true and supreme suauity; thou didst cast them
 out, and didst enter thy selfe for them, more
 sweet then all pleasure, but not to flesh & blood;
 more cleere then all light, but more close then
 any

any lecher; higher then all honour, but not to such as are highly in their owne conceit: now was my mind free from all bying cares of ambition, of couetousnes, of wallowing or scratching the itch of filthy lusts. So S. Augustine, and hereby (to end this whole matter) M. Hall and his fellow Ministers may learne, that in case this itch of lust, or rather, as S. Augustine call it, *scabiem libidinis*, do so violently possesse, and driue them to this perswasion, that it is a thing impossible to liue a continent life; they must know the cause to be either for that the brutish spirit of heresy being fleshly and sensuall, comports not this purity, or els that chastity it self, as neither charity, can be separated from true sayth, as the materiall cause from the formall, that is, the chastity of the body from the chastity of the soule: *Virginitas carnis* sayth S. Augustine *August.*
corpus intactum, virginitas cordis fides incorrupta. The in p. 1.
 virginity of the flesh is the body vntouched, the 147.
 virginity of the soule an vndefiled sayth: and out of him S. Prosper: *Carnis virginitas intacto corpore* Prosper.
habetur, virginitas anima est intemerata fides, and so it epig. c. 74.
 cannot be found in her entier perfection, in terra sua interuentium, but where penance is preached, and truth professed, which is only in the Catholike, and Roman Church: to which S. Augustin when he left the Manichies did accrew, & I with M. Hall so much happynes, as to follow his worthy example: and so much of this impossibility, wherein for that I haue beene so long, I will be shorter in the rest.

The fifth

27. There remaineth yet one of the five vntuths mentioned in the beginning, in which refused.

Turpe vo-
tum.
A vow if the determination, in scanning of which I can
it be true skantly explicate, or sufficiently admire his ig-
can neuer norance; for seeing that a vow is not properly
be filthy. of any indifferent thing, much lesse of any ill or
See 3. filthy thing (for it is a voluntary promise made
Thom. 2. vnto God *de meliore bono*) there can be no such
s. q. 88. vow, no exchang of decree. And the words he
artic. 3. citeth do not beare that sense, which he suppo-
seth: for the word *Votum* is taken there impro-
perly for a promise, and so it would haue appear-
ed had he put downe the whole sentence of S.
Gratius. Isidore (if it be his) alleadged by Grassian, where
causa. 12. he treateth of vnlawfull oathes and promises,
Quest. 4. for thus it stands: *In malis promissis rescinde fidem, in
turpi voto muta decretum, quod incaute vouisti ne facias,
impia est enim promissio qua scelere impletur.* Breake
the pact in ill promises, in a filthy promise
change the determination, do not that which
you haue vnaduisedly promised, for the promise
is wicked which is performed with mischief.
So he. Wherefore from an vnproper acception
of the Latin word, to inferre an argument as if
it were taken in the proper sense, is the property
of him who intendeth to deceaue, and to apply
that title vnto virginity or the continency
which Priests and Religious do vow, is so base,
as it better becometh some Epicure, Turke, and
Pagan (if among them any can be found so bea-
stly) then any Christian or ciuill man: for if
virginity be filthines, where will he find purity,
vnles perhaps in the bed of a harlot? But let vs
passe

pasſe on to ſome other matter.

28. Hauing included vs (at he ſuppoſeth) within the labyrinth of an *impoſſible neceſſity*, he preacheth the freedome of Engliſh Ghoſpellers, and prayſeth it as deuoyd of all ſuch entanglements, hauing no vow, or neceſſity in it, nor any more *impoſſibility* then for a ſtone to tumble downeward (for ſuppoſing the knowne frailty of theſe men, I thinke it no great miracle for them to marry) and out of our owne graunt, and the cleare text thus he would demonſtrate the ſame againſt vs. Euen moderate Papiſts (ſayth he) wil grant vs free, becauſe not bound by vow, no not ſo far as thoſe old Germans, *pro poſſe & noſſe*. Or what care we if they grannt it not? While we hold vs firme to that ſure rule of *Baſil the Great*: He that forbids what God enioynes, or enioynes what God forbids, let him be accuſed. I paſſe not what I heare men, or Angels ſay, while I heare God ſay: *Let him be the husband of one wife*. So he. And who would not thinke this controuerſy at an end, ſeing that both we allow the Miniſters their wiues, and God himſelfe not only to allow, but alſo to appoint and enioyne them to marry?

The freedome of Engliſh Miniſters.

1. Timi. 3. Anſwered by Bellarmin c. 20 ſ. argument. 2. Engliſh Miniſters may lawfully marry, but they are not lawfull Clergy men.

29. And truly for the firſt part I freely with other Catholiks graunt that our Engliſh Miniſters according to their calling make no vows: I graunt their marriage to be lawfull, I graunt that euery one of them may be the husband of one wife: yea further I graunt, that he may be the husband of as many wiues as euer was King *Henry the eighth*, if he can rid his hands as faſt of them as he did, that he may be *bigamum* or

trigamus, thrice told if he will: for there is no vow at all of single chastity, or simple honesty annexed to their order: this I say we graunt & deny not, but we deny them to be truly Clergy men, or to haue any more authority in the Church then their wiues, or daughters haue, and this because they want all true calling and ordination: for they entred not in at the dore like true pastours, but stole in at the window like thieues: we deny their ministry, I say, to be lawfull, because they did runne before they were sent, tooke their places by intrusion, thrusting themselves into the Churches, as robbers vpon the possessions of honest men; expelling the true owners by force and violence, hauing themselves no better claime, calling, authority, right, or title to these offices which they now vsurpe, then had the *Arians*, *Macedonians*, *Pelagians*, *Nestorians*, *Eutichians*, or any other Heretikes in former ages, to teach and preach as they did: Let *M. Hall* disproue this, and I will say, *Tu Phyllida solus habeto*. Let him keep his wife and benefice togeather, I wil no more contend with him. But till this be proued, the plea for Ministers wiues is both idle and superfluous, & only sheweth their *posse* and *nosse* to be wholly in carnality, to fauour more of the body then of the soule, of flesh then of the spirit, of earth then of heauen, of humane infirmity, then Angelicall perfection.

The text of S. Paul willing a Bishop to be the husband of one wife is discussed.

30. Now for the other member, because the place of the Apostle concerneth true Bishops, the place of *S. Basil* nothing at all this purpose, and *M. Hall* misunderstandeth the one, & the

the other, I will a little more discusse, especially this text of S. Paul. No man I thinke will deny the rule to be most true of his being accursed, who forbids what God enioyns, or els enioyns what God forbids: but what will M. Hall inferre heereby? Will he say as he seemeth to insinuate that all Clergy men are enioyned by God to marry? then why did S. Paul himselfe according to the common opinion of most Fathers (gathered out of his owne words 1. Cor. 7.) neuer marry? why did not S. Basil himselfe take a wife? why did all the ancient Fathers so much commend, so earnestly perswade, so saythfully practise, & exhort to virginity? was there none among them, who vnderstood this iniunction? yea supposing this ground S. Paul cannot be excused from errour in perswading the virginity, and preferring it before matrimony, seeing this hath the iniunction of Christ, and the other as a thing impossible, the prohibition. But of this iniunction or prohibition for clergy men from the first of S. Matthew, to the last of the Apocalyps there is no one sentence, word, or fillable to be found.

31. And it argueth little capacity in M. Hall when he sayth after the former rule: I passe not what I heare men or Angels say; while I heare God say, let him be the husband of one wife, for I say that he vnderstandeth not the Apostle, who in the iudgment of Luther himselfe, as Bellarmine noteth is to be vnderstood negatively, and the sense not to be that euery Bishop is bound to haue a wife but that he is bound not to haue other women together with his wife. So he. But to our purpose

1. Cor. 7.

1. Tim. 3.

Bellarmino loco citato.

*Hier. l. 1.
in Iouin.*

purpose and agreeable also vnto truth, S. Hieron sayth, *Vnius vxoris virum, qui vnain vxorem habuerit, non habeat.* The husband of one wife, who hath had one wife, not he that hath her: that is, none is to be made Bishop, who hath beene twice marryed, or who yet vseth his wife in matrimony, but he who hauing beene once marryed, purposeth to liue in perpetuall continency: *Episcopi* (sayth he) *Presbyteri, Diaconi, aut Virgines eliguntur aut vidui, aut certe post sacerdotium in eternum pudici.* Bishops, Priests, Deacons are either chosen virgins or widdowers, or certes after their priesthood such as for euer are continent. So he.

*Apologia
ad Pammach.
in fine.*

32. Againe he sayth: *Non enim dicit eligatur Episcopus qui vnā ducat vxorem, sed qui vnā habuerit vxorem.* S. Paul sayth not, let a Bishop be chosen, who may marry one wife, but who hath had one wife, and this for the cleanes required in the Episcopall and Priestly functions, as els where he declareth saying: *Si indignè accipiunt*

Apol. ad mriti, non mihi irascantur, sed Scripturis sanctis &c.

Pammach. If marryed folkes take it ill (that I preferre virgins so much before them) let them not be angry with me, but with the holy Scriptures, yea with the Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, with all the priestly and leuiticall quier, who know that they cannot offer vpsacrifices if they attend to the duty of marriage. So S. Hierome.

*Hieron. in
Vigilans.*

And against *Vigilantium*, as though he had seene as it were in that roote, the progeny of our marryed Bishops in England, and ordering of Miniiters, who should charge all the parish Churches with their plentifull offspring, he cryeth

cryeth out: *Proh nefas! Episcopos sui sceleris dicitur habere consortes &c.* O villany! *Vigilantiu* is sayd to haue Bishops partakers of his wickednes, if they be to be named Bishops, who order not their Deacons till they haue married wiues, mistrusting the chastity of single men, or rather shewing of Note this what holines they are themselues, who suspect M. Hall. ill of all, and minister not the Sacraments of Christ, till they see the wiues of Clergy men great with child, and yong babes crying in their armes. So he speaking in the person of *Vigilantiu* to all our English Clergy, who suspect that none can liue chaste, and therefore will haue all to marry to auoyd forsooth this idle impossibility.

33. With S. Hierome agree in this exposition S. Augustine, and S. Epiphanius, and assigne also the same reason, to wit, the purity required in Priests & Clergy men. *Non absurdè est* (sayth S. Augustine) *eum qui excessit vxorum numerum singularem &c.* Not without cause hath it beene esteemed that he who hath exceeded the singular number of wiues, should not therby be thought to haue committed any sinne, but to haue lost a certayne decency required to the Sacrament, not necessary to the merit of good life, but to the scale of Ecclesiasticall ordination. So he, with more to the same effect. And S. Epiphanius: *non suscipit sancta Dei predicatio post Christi aduentum eos &c.* The holy doctrine of God after the coming of Christ admitteth not those, who after one marriage & death of their wiues do marry Priests againe, and that for the excellent honour and dignity of Priesthood: and this the holy Church

*De brio
conjugali
cap. 18.*

*Epiphanius.
hæres. 59.
It is a-
gainst the
ancient
Canons
that*

of

of God receaueth with all sincerity, yea the doth
not receaue the once marryed person, that yet
vleth his wife, and begetteth children, but only
such a one the taketh to be a Deacon, Priest, Bi-
shop, or Subdeacon, as abstayneth from his wife
or is a widower, specially where the holy Canons
are sincerely kept. So he, and I see not how possibly
he could haue spoken more plainly for vs, or
we for our selues.

34. S. Ambrose both in his commentary, &
els where is no lesse cleare, and resolute in this
point then the former: *quauis secundam habere v-*

Ambr. in xorem &c. although (sayth he) it be not forbid-
den to marry the second wife, yet that one may
3.

be worthy to be a Bishop, he must leaue his
lawfull wife, for the excellency of that order:
because he must be better then others who de-
fire that dignity. So he. And in another place
refelling as it were of purpose the opinion of S.
Hierome, who held, that marriage before Bap-
tisme did not hinder, but that if a man tooke
another wife after, as Carterius whom he defend-
eth did, he might notwithstanding (his wife
marryed after baptisme being also dead) be made
Priest, restrayning bigamy to the second marriage
of the faithfull only. S. Ambrose herunto replyeth:

Ambros. l. 3. ep. 25. edit. Vati-
can. & ad Ecclesiam *Quis sine crimine est, vnus vxoris vir, teneatur ad legem sa-*
Vercellen- *cerdotij suscipiendi &c.* Let him be preferred to
sem. idem *priethood, who is without fault, the husband*
habetur l. *of one wife: he that hath marryed the second*
x. officiorū *tyme, hath no fault by which he is defiled, but*
o. vltimo. *he is excluded from the prerogatiue of a Priest.*
So he, and addeth the Fathers in the Nicen
Councell to haue decreed none to be admitted

at al into the Clergy after the second marriage.

35. And because *S. Hierome* vrged that all faults by the force and vertue of Baptisme were remitted, and so the first marriage by the same either to be taken away if it were a sinne, or cleansed if impure: he answereth heereunto: *Culpa lauacro, non lex soluitur &c.* The fault is forgiven in bapisme, the law not dissolued; there is no fault in wedlocke, but there is a law (for priesthood) the law is not remitted as a fault, but remains as a law, therefore the Apostle made a law saying: if any be faultles the husband of one wife. So *S. Ambrose*. demanding in the same place this question, which I likewise demand of *M. Hall*, and all his married bretheren in England: *Quid interesset inter populum & Sa-*

cerdotem si isdem adstringerentur legibus? What difference should there be between Priest & people, if they should follow the same lawes? if both should marry, and both liue alike? truly none at al, and yet as this Father sayth: *Debet praeponderare vita Sacerdotis sicut praeponderat gratia.* The life of the Priest ought to be more eminent, as his calling is more high: and *M. Hall* as though he acknowledged no purity out of wedlocke, or as though all that preferred continency were impure, addeth after this testimony of the Apostle, *that one* *Ibidem.* word alone shall confirme me against all impure mouthes, but if *S. Ambrose* had bene his Bishop, he would haue taught him better to haue vnderstood the Apostle, and to haue inferred the contrary conclusion: for he sayth, that this authority doth not perswade vs to beget children in priesthood: *Habentem enim dixit filios, non facientem.* *S. Paul* sayth

The liues of Priests ought to be more pure then the liues of secular men.

of God receaueth with all sincerity, yea the doth
not receaue the once married person, that yet
vlteth his wife, and begetteth children, but only
such a one the taketh to be a Deacon, Priest, Bi-
shop, or Subdeacon, as abita yneth from his wife
or is a widower, specially where the holy Canons
are sincerely kept. So he, and I see not how possibly
he could haue spoken more plainly for vs, or
we for our selues.

34. S. Ambrose both in his commentary, &
els where is no lesse cleare, and resolute in this
point then the former: *quoniam secundum habere v-*

Ambr. in xorem &c. although (sayth he) it be not forbid-
den to marry the second wife, yet that one may
3. be worthy to be a Bishop, he must leaue his

lawfull wife, for the excellency of that order:
because he must be better then others who de-
sire that dignity. So he. And in another place
refelling as it were of purpose the opinion of S.

*Hier. ep.
ad Ocean.*

Hierome, who held, that marriage before Bap-
tisme did not hinder, but that if a man tooke
another wife after, as *Carterius* whom he defend-
eth did, he might notwithstanding (his wife
married after baptisme being also dead) be made
Priest, restrayning bigamy to the second marriage
of the faithful only. S. Ambrose herunto replyeth:

Ambros.

*l. 3. ep. 25.
edit. Vati-*

*cana ad
Ecclesiam*

Vericellen-

fem. idem

habetur l.

x. officio iu

o. vltimo.

*Qui sine crimine est, vnius vxoris vir, teneatur ad legem sa-
cerdotij suscipiendi &c.* Let him be preferred to
priesthood, who is without fault, the husband
of one wife: he that hath married the second
tyme, hath no fault by which he is defiled, but
he is excluded from the prerogative of a Priest.
So he, and addeth the Fathers in the Nicen
Councell to haue decreed none to be admitted

at al into the Clergy after the second marriage.

35. And becaule S. Hierome viced that all faults by the force and vertue of Baptisme were remitted, and so the first marriage by the same either to be taken away if it were a sinne, or cleansed if impure: he answereth heereunto: *Culpa laacro, non lex soluitur &c.* The fault is forgiven in baptisme, the law not dissolved; there is no fault in wedlocke, but there is a law (for priesthood) the law is not remitted as a fault, but remains as a law, therefore the Apostle made a law saying: if any be faultles the husband of one wife. So S. Ambrose. demanding in the same place this question, which I likewise demand of M. Hall, and all his married bretheren in England: *Quid interesset inter populum & sacerdotem si isdem adstringerentur legibus?* The liues of Priests ought to be more pure then the liues of secular men. What difference should there be between Priest & people, if they should follow the same lawes? if both should marry, and both liue alike? truly none at al, and yet as this Father sayth: *Debet preponderare vita Sacerdotis sicut preponderat gratia.* The life of the Priest ought to be more eminent, as his calling is more high: and M. Hall as though he acknowledged no purity out of wedlocke, or as though all that preferred continency were impure, addeth after this testimony of the Apostle, *that one Ibidem.* word alone shall confirme me against all impure moutbes, but if S. Ambrose had beene his Bishop, he would haue taught him better to haue vnderstood the Apostle, and to haue inferred the contrary conclusion: for he sayth, that this authority doth not perswade vs to beget children in priesthood: *Habentem enim dixit filios, non facientem.* S. Paul sayth

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 sayth the Bishop that hath children, not he who
 begets them, as our English Bishops and Mini-
 sters do.

36. With the Fathers now mentioned o-
 thers conspire, whome I might also if it were
 1. Tim. 3. needfull alleadge, who all acknowledge in the
 2. 1. Cor. 14. Apostles words a permissiue dispensation, not
 any positiue command, and that also at such a
 tyme, when amongst the Heathens conuerted
 vnto the sayth, there could not be found so ma-
 ny single men as the Clergy required, which
 both S. Epiphanius, S. Hierome, and Theodoret do
 obserue: and truely if he had meant to haue
 left this matter free, there had beene no need of
 this restrictiue limitation, to the husband I
 Epiphanius. meant of one wife, but that as S. Chrysostome wel
 hare] 59. noteth: *Castigat impudicos dum non eos permittit post*
 Hier. l. 1. *secundas nuptias ad Ecclesie regimen, dignitatemq; Pasto-*
 in Iovin. *ris assumi.* He checketh the incontinent whiles
 cap. 19. he permitteth them not after their second mar-
 Theod. in riages, to be preferred to the gouernment of the
 comment. Church, and dignity of Pastour. So he. And
 Chrysosto. that this was only for that tyme: and out of the
 in 1. ad Ti- errour thereof he further in another place con-
 rum. firmeth saying: *Voluit orbis Pastores constituere &c.*
 Chrys. ho. S. Paul went about to place Pastours ouer the
 2. in Iob. world, and for that vertues were rarely found,
 ordeyning Bishops he sayth to Titus, make Bi-
 shops as I haue disposed, the husband of one wife
 not to that end that this should now be obser-
 ued in the Church: for a Priest ought to be
 adorned with all chastity. And after: *Non quod id*
legis loco posuerit, sed quod errori ignoscebat. Not that
 he made a law that euery one should marry, as

M. Hall

M. Hall interprets him, but that he condescended to the error, to wit of those tymes.

37. I will only adioyne one more, whom M. Hall citeth for himselfe, and is very eager in defence of his wordes, as after you shall see: so as his authority must needs be without exception on his behalfe, to wit; S. Isidore Bishop of Seuil, who thus conforme to the other Fathers and truth also, expoundeth the former words *Vnius uxoris virum*, the husband of one wife thus: *Isidor. de officijs Eccles. l. 2. cap. 5.*
Sacerdotium quarit Ecclesia, aut de Monogamia ordinatum, aut de virginitate sanctum: Digamus autem haud fertur agere sacerdotium. The Church seeketh for »
 priesthood, either decent from single marriage, »
 or holy from virginity; he that hath been twice «
 marryed is not to be Priest. So he, so others, so
 all. And by this any may see who agree with
 the Fathers, and who leaue them; who interpret the Scriptures out of their owne spirit, and
 who follow the beaten path of the Churches
 doctrine, who antiquity, who nouelty, who
 truth & who error, which point I might further dilate, if the lawes of a letter restrayned me
 not to a more contracted breuiety.

38. If M. Hall say, that S. Ambrose by me cited acknowledgeth in the Apostles wordes a law, and S. Chrysostom denyeth any law to be in them, but only a dispensation for that tyme, and occasion, I answer that both of them speake properly, both truly: S. Ambrose speaketh vpon supposition, that a marryed man is to be made Priest or Bishop, and then sayth, that there is a law prescribed by the Apostle, that he haue beene marryed but once, so as this law is negatiue, to
 No disagreement betweene S. Ambrose, and S. Chrysostome; though one do graunt a law in S. Pauls wordes & the other deny it, because they do speake of different lawes.

wit, none is to be ordered who hath twice been married: but S. Chrysostome speaketh absolutely of a positive law, and affirmeth that the Apostle by no such law doth bynd every Priest or Bishop to marry, which I call positive, because it must runne in this tenour. Every Priest or Bishop ought at least once to be married, for neither doth S. Ambrose graunt this law, or S. Chrysostome deny the other, but both jointly agree, that none heereby is bound to marry, and he that hath beene twice married is not to be ordered.

Tertull.
exhort. ad
castitatē

cap. 7.

Concil.

Valentin.

cap. 1.

Carthag.

4. cap. 69.

Toleran. 2.

cap. 4.

Concil. A-

rafrican.

cap. 25.

Arelat. 3.

cap. 3.

Roman.

Sub Hilar.

cap. 2.

Agath.

cap. 1.

Epaun. c. 1.

Gerund.

cap. 8.

Aurel. 1.

c. 6. &c.

Beza l. de

diuortijs.

39. With this doctrine concurrerth the practice in all ages: for *Tertullian* neere the Apostles tymes, thus out of his own knowledge writeth: *Apud nos plenius atq; strictius praescribitur &c.* Among vs it is more fully and straitly ordained, that such alone be chosen to be made Priests, who haue beene but once married, in so much as my selfe remember certaine who were twice married to haue beene deposed. So he. And in the 4. Councell of *Carthage* it is defined, that if any Bishop should wittingly order any who had married a widdow, taken againe his wife whome he had left, or taken a second, that he should be deprived of all authority of ordering any more. And the same was appointed in diuers other Councells heere by me noted, and their wordes are alleadged by *Coccius* in his rich treasure of the Catholike truth. Which assertion of ours is so cleare & euident, as *Beza* himselfe could not deny it, but in his book of *Diuorces* doth confesse it, as he who reads him will confesse that he is the vndoubted scholler of Antichrist: *Digamos* (sayth he) *id est eos qui plures successiue uxores vel etiam*

quam

vnam & eam viduam duxerant &c. So far did most men in tymes past esteeme those who were *Digami*, that is those who had taken more wiues one after the other, or els had marryed but one and the a widdow, to be vnworthy of the sacred ministry, that they did not only exclude them from holy orders, to wit, of being Bishop, Priest Deacon, or Subdeacon, but once also they excluded them euen from the very Clergy: Let this be neuer so ancient, notwithstanding I as- firme it to be most wicked, and not tolerable in the Church. So he. Giuing at one clap as you see the checke-mate to all Fathers, Councells, Churches, antiquity, and whatsoeuer, yea (if all the Fathers haue not in their commentaries erred) to the very Apostle himselfe: so sharp are these men set to defend their wiues, as they as- se& rather as it should seem to be kind husbands, then sincere Christians.

40. For M. Hall also euen in this véry epi- stle maketh his chiefe plea for his owne and his fellow ministers trulls out of the Councell of *Trullum*, which although it neuer had in al parts full authority in the Church, as not receaued for Oecumeniall or lawfull, although against the Protestants it haue many articles, and those in matter fundamentall, although it haue one Canon denyed by all Protestants, Catholikes, and others except Iewes, and some few *Brownists* in *Suffolke*, yet because it favors the marriage of Priests (notwithstanding in this also it neither reach so far home as M. Hall would haue it, for it denyes all marriages after their ordination) yet I say for this point alone, it is by him called

M. Hall
seemeth
to set
more by
his wife
then by
his Reli-
gion.

a sacred Councell, and vrged to the confusion of al
 repliers, with a bitter exclamation against vs,
 for cutting out this soueraigne decree, being as
 he sayth, so flat confirmed by authority of Emperours, and
 M. Hall. *abiding no denyall.* Againe this one authority, sayth he,
 p. 131. 132. *is enough to weigh downe a hundred petty conueniencies, and*
many legions (if there had bene many) of priuate contra-
dictions. But of this Councell I shall speake in due
 place, now only you may consider that these
 men seem, as I sayd, to care more for their wiues
 then for their Religion: and it seemeth that if
 we graunt them that comfort, they will not
 further contend with vs: for it they receaue this
 Synod as sacred, then we shall haue altars, reall
 presence, immaculate sacrifice, and other things
 as after we shall see, which they call Antichri-
 stian: and if in these points this Councell in
 their iudgments erred, how can it be sacred, &
 of so great authority only in the behalfe of their
 wiues? Who seeth not wherunto this doth tend?
 but not to digresse further from M. Halles me-
 thode.

41. I haue bene the longer in examining
 this place of the Apostle, because it is the only
 place on which this man relyeth: and you see in
 the Fathers iudgements what small reliefe his
 cause hath thereby, and if therein he find no-
 thing besides his ignorance and mistaking to
 leane vnto, much lesse would he find in other
 places, which with this controuersy haue no
 coherence, reference, or dependence at all, as
 when immediatly after the former authority
 he addeth: *He that made marriage sayth it is honorable,*
what care we for the dishonour of those who corrupt it?

Imperti-
 nent alle-
 gations of
 Scripturs.

Heb. 13.

To

To which I answered that as he who hath made marriage calls it *honourable*, so in like manner do they call it, so esteeme it, who by vow of higher perfection haue for euer debarred themselves from it: *Honorable connubium in omnibus, & thorus immaculatus &c.* sayth S. Fulgenius: marriage is honourable in all, and the bed vndefiled, and therefore the seruants of God in that they abstaine from wife & flesh, do not refuse them as things vncleane, but follow the rule of a purer life, & when they forbear marriage they do it not for that they thinke it a sinne to marry, but for that they are certayne continency to be better then good marriages, especially in this tyme of grace, when of continency it is sayd: He that can take it, let him take it; but of marriages, He that cannot conteine, let him marry: in the one is an occasion of vertue, in the other our weaknes is holpen with a remedy. So he. And if any in this more eminent estate haue by their incontinency fallen the dishonour is personall, the state not defiled, the state we defend, we dislike the abuse: as marriage it not the worse in his owne nature, though some as you say dishonour themselves, and liue in aduowtry, no more is chastity, for the faults of the incontinent.

42. That wedlocke is called a *chast worke*, *vndefiled bed*, and the like, is not by vs denyed: for we yield willingly thereunto so many honourable titles, as the truth will beare, or as may without preiudice of virginall perfection, holy widdowhood, or ecclesiastical continency Hieron: which are of a higher degree, be giuen thereunto: Ecclesia, sayth S. Hierome, *mattimonia non dam-*

*De file ad
Pet. cap. 3.*

*Hieron:
Apol. ad
Pamma.h.*

nat sed subycit, velitis nolitis maritus subycitur virginitati & viduitati. The Church condemnes not matrimony but makes it inferiour, will you, nill you a marryed man is inferiour to virginity and widowhood. So he. And to enter into the praises of marriage, which no man dispraises, is but to trifle, vnles M. Hall could proue that we either in publique schools, generall Councils, or by common consent mainteyne the contrary, which he shall neuer be able to do: if he will thus inferre, you preferre the one, *ergo* you condemne the other, the illation is too childish, and deserueth rather contempt then answer, yet do our Adversaries very often blot their papers with these idle inferences.

M. Halls
trifling.

43. Like vnto which argument follows another: for he sayth, *If God shall be Iudge of this controuersy it were soone at an end, who in the tyme euen of that legall strictnes, allowed wedlocke to the Ministers of his Sanctuary.* So he. For if he meane that for purity or perfection of life the law of Moyses was more strict then the Ghospell of Christ, the vntruth is notorious, and euery where contradicted by Christ himselfe: and if not, why doth he add, *euen of that legall strictnes?* and how doth he conclud that because their Priests mary, ours should also do the same? any one would rather thereof proue the contrary, seing the old law to be but a shaddow of ours, and their sacrifices so haue only figured the sacrifice of the new law, as S. Hierome and other Fathers do learnedly discourse: for the perfecter the sacrifice is which is offered, the more perfection is required in him who offers it: and the holier the sacraments,

Hier. in c.
2. ad Tit. in
illa verba:
Sed huius
sacram.

craments, the greater holynes is exacted of the receauers, and more strictnes to be vsed where the abuse offered by vn worthines, both in the offerer & receauer is iudged for damnable: *Tantum interest inter propositionis panes & corpus Christi,* ^{1. Cor. 12.} *quantum inter vmbram & corpora &c.* There is as great difference betweene the shew-breads and the body of Christ, as there is betweene the shadow and bodyes, betweene the image and truth, betweene the paterns of things to come, & those things which were prefigured by these paterns: therefore as there ought to be in a Bishop meeknes, patience, sobriety &c. so likewise a peculiar chastity, and (as I may say) a priestly purity, that not only he absteyne from all vn-cleane worke, but that soule which is to consecrate the holy body of Christ, must also be free from euery light looke, and bad thought. So S. Hierom, rightly vpon the inequality of the things done, deducing a disproportionable perfection in the doers: and the permission of wiues in the Aaronicall priesthood argueth evidently the imperfection of that Law, as according to the title of his booke, *Eusebius* doth demonstrate saying of the Iewish Priests in respect of ours: *remissiore atq; liberaliore vitam agebant,* they liued a more easy and free life, and the strictnes was only in the multitude and manner of their ceremonies, not in the perfection of their liues, as *M. Hall* doth seeme very fondly to imagine.

44. To confirme this matter, and to overthrow vs by our owne Authors, he bringeth in the testimonies of a Cardinall, of *Gratian*, & of Pope *Pius 2.* speaking in his behalfe: and for the

See S. Bede
in cap. 1.
Lucce.
Euseb. l. 1.
demonst.
Euang.
cap. 9.
Chryst. 3. de
sacerdotio
& ho. 14.
in ep. ad
Hebraeos.

first he magnityeth him very much, and craueth audience for him : *Let Cardinall Panormitan* (sayth he) *be heard to speake*. And then hauing cited a short sentence to no purpose, a little after he cryeth out : *Heare, o yee Papists, the iudgment of your owne Cardinall, & confesse your mouthes stopped*. And hauing cited the words of *Panormitan*, againe he braueth and demands: *is this a Cardinall thinke you, or a Hugonot? but if his red hat be not worthy of respect &c.* I answered first vnto his last queition, I say that *Panormitan* was neither *Cardinall*, nor *Hugonot*, but dyed in the schisme that was made against *Eugenius* the fourth: and albeit *Felix* the false Pope made him *Cardinall*, yet did the sayd *Felix* renounce his falsely vsurped Popedome, and so as some write would *Panormitan* haue done also his counterfet *Cardinallship*, if he had not been preuented by death before he could effect it.

45. So as we respect not the red hat, nor will heare him speake as a *Cardinall*, much lesse will we acknowledge him for our *Cardinall*, vnles he had come to that dignity by better meanes then he did: and as well may *M. Hall* tell vs that the Protestant Bishops of England be our true Bishops, as that this Abbot was our true *Cardinall*: for we belieue both the one & other alike, knowing full well their ordinations to haue bene either schismaticall, or hereticall: notwithstanding seeing *M. Hall* doth request vs to fauour him so far, we are content to heare him speake (for that now he stands with his hat of) and to tell vs, that *continency* is not of the substance of the order, *nece de iure diuino*, nor annexed by diuine law. And this we will not only heare him speake, but

Much
foolish &
imperti-
nent ba-
bling.

Panormi-
tan M.
Halls Car-
dinal hath
nothing
against vs.

but graunt him also, taking the diuine law, as he taketh it, for that which is expressly determined in Scriptures, where we also say there is no euident precept set downe of continency in Ecclesiasticall men by the Apostles, yet is the same there so insinuated, & the obseruance hath beene so ancient, as Bellarmine noteth, that it may truly be tearmed Apostolicall, which is all that we require, and is not gainesayd by Panormitan.

46. And whereas he alleadgeth Gratian in this manner: And Gratian out of S. Augustine yet more: their marriage, sayth he, is neither forbidden by legall, nor Euangelicall, nor Apostolicall authority: I must A grosse make bold to tell him, that in these words is a vntruth. very grosse vntruth: for Gratian taketh nothing out of S. Augustine, who in the text of Gratian speaketh no more of mariage then of midsomer Moone: for the difficulty in that question is about lotts, whether the practise of casting them in any matter of moment be lawfull, seeing the same was vsed in the detection of Achan, and c. Iosue. 7. lection of S. Matihias, to which end he quoteth Act. 1. this short sentence of S. Augustine: *Sors non aliquid mali est, sed re est in dubitatione humana diuinam indicans voluntatem.* A lot is no ill thing, but it is a thing shewing, where men do doubt, the will or pleasure of God. So much out of him and no more, which as you see nothing at all concerneth the marriage of Ministers: and the wordes which follow are of Gratian himselfe, deciding the controuersy thus: *Hic ita respondetur: antequam glaresceret Euangelium multa permittebantur quae tempore perfectionis disciplina penitus sunt eliminata &c.* To these thus I answered that before the manifesta-

tion of the Gospell, many things were permitted, which in the tyme of more perfect discipline were quite abrogated: for the carnall copulation of Priests or kinsfolkes (permitted in the old law) is not forbidden by any legall, Evangelicall or Apostolicall authority; *Ecclesiastica* *men lege penitus interdicatur, sic & sortibus &c.* But yet by Ecclesiastical law it is altogether forbidden,

Two

faults of
M. Hal in
one citation.

so likewise in lots it is cleare that there is no harme in them, notwithstanding they are forbidden to be vsed of the faythfull, least vnder the colour of this diuination, they should fall backe againe to the old worship of Idolatry. Thus *Gratian*, which as you see is no more then *Panormitan* before sayd, & we graunted, touching the diuine law: but touching *M. Hall* there are two foule faults in this citation, the one of commission in auouching both in the English text, and Latin margent these words to be taken out of *S. Augustine*, the other of omission in concealing the marriages of kinsfolkes within the prohibited degrees, which although only forbidden by Ecclesiasticall law, yet dares not *M. Hall* as I thinke transgresse it, so as this law hath greater force then he supposeth it to haue.

47. Neither doth the demaund he maketh

much moue vs, vnles it be to laughter for his folly, or compassion of his simplicity, when he asketh vs saying: *God neuer imposed this law of continency: who then? the Church: as if a good spouse would gaine say what her husband willetb?* To which idle question I answere, that this Spouse cannot gaine say what her husband willetb, because she hath his spirit to leade her into al truth, his promise

An idle

demand.

misc that Hell gates shall neuer preuaile against her: *Matth. 16.*
 his command that all shall obey her, or be held
 as Heathens and Publicans; she is espoused to
 him, who neuer dyes, who will neuer seeke di-
 uorce; she is so beautifull as without spot, so
 bright as all may see her, so sure as she is the pil-
 ler and foundation of truth, so permanent as she
 shall endure to the worlds end: and this minister
 who would make the one to gaine say the other
 should bring some place or sentence to shew
 the same (which he may chance to do the next
 morning after the Greeke Calends) or els neuer
 auouch so vnchristian a paradoxe. I passe ouer
 his other passage of *Panormitan* with which he
 would haue vs confesse our *mouthes stopped*, as
 though this man alone were *Apello Delphicus*, and
 euery thing he sayth were to be held for an ora-
 cle: we tye not our selues to euery mans opiniō,
 for that were to preiudice publicke authority:
 the common is Catholike, private iudgments
 are subiect to more then priuate exception, &
 this sentence is censured by *Bellarmino* as errone-
 ous: neither is it otherwise deliuered by the au-
 thor, but as his own proper opinion, supposing
 the abuse of some Cleargy men, as it should seem
 in his dayes, who liuing incontinently, he
 thought it better for them to marry euen after
 their orders, then to giue such scandall: but no
 law can preuent all abuses: euen in matrimony
 we find adulterers, and they who in single life
 so lewdly follow their lust, would also perhaps
 not haue beene restrained in marriage within
 the prefixed limits of coniugall chastity; at least
 for the errors of some, the law is not to be alte-
 red

*Bellar. l. v.
 de Cler. c.
 19. §. 1. an-
 tem.*

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red that bindeth all, especially being so ancient,
so vniuersall, so necessary, as we shall after shew
this law to be.

48. The like liberty I might vse in preter-
mitting other of his impertinent allegations,
if I thought the man would not, where he find-
eth no answer, thinke that they were vn-
answerable, & therefore I meane to examine them
all, though this which followes be not worth
the taking vp, had he not by misinterpreting
the Latin made it more aduantageous to his
cause, then euer the speaker meant it: for thus
he writeth: *But if this red hat be not worthy of respect,*
let a Pope himselfe speake out of Peters chayre, Pius the se-
cond, as learned as hath sit in that roome this thousand
yeares: marriage, sayth he, vpon great reason was taken
from the Clergy, but vpon greater is to be restored. VVhat
need we other Iudge? Thus M. Hall: in which words
are two manifest vntruths, the one that he spake
this out of *Peters chaire*: for he neuer made any
decree thereof, and *Platina* who alone is cited to
report it, sayth that in familiar talke only he
was wont so to say, which is far from defying
out of *S. Peters Chayre*, which requires a defi-
nitue sentence, as from the head of the Church
and deliuered in absolute tearmes, for the affir-
matue or negatiue of any assertion: for in like
manner Kings are not sayd to do out of king-
ly authority, what they do or say in familiar
discourse or recreation amongst their subiects,
but what they do or say by their publike laws,
edicts, proclamations, commands, and the like.

49. The other vntruth is more malicious:
for whereas the Latin wordes in the margent
are:

False in-
terpreta-
tion of
Pius 2. his
wordes.

are: *Sacerdotibus magna ratione sublata nuptias, maiore restituendas videri*, which truly translated signify no more, but that marriage vpon good reason was taken from Priests, and may seeme vpon greater to be restored: this man bringeth in onelye to confirme another, to shew, I say, that the Pope defined out of *S. Peters chayre*, he maketh him absolutely to say, *Marriage vpon great reason was taken from the Clergy, but vpon greater is to be restored*; and to make it haue a large extent, insiead of Priests he translateth Clergy, which includeth also Bishops, who yet are excluded by his owne sixth Council, as we shall after shew, and then exclaimeth, *VVhat needeth other iudge?* and I say there needeth no other, but some who vnderstand their Grammer, to tell *M. Hall* three things, that the word *Sacerdotibus* signifyeth Priests, and not the Clergy, 2. that *nuptias restituendas videri*, is to be Englished, marriages may seeme to be restored, and not are to be restored: and 3. that euery compassionate speech of dislike in familiar talke, is not a decree from *S. Peters chayre*. As for his superlatiue lashing of this Popes learning in comparison of others, no regard is to be had thereunto: for now this Minister measures all thinges by marriage, and seeth nothing but through false spectacles; a schismaticall Council is for fauouring wiues presently become with him sacred, and the authority irrefragable, *Paphnutius* for fauouring the same as he supposeth in the Nicen Council is stiled, *a Virgin famous for holynes, famous for miracles. S. Athanasius, holy Athanasius, a witnes past exception, and shall serue for a thousand histories till his tyme*: if he cite a Cardinal then

M. Halls honourable tearme of such as he citeth in fauour of the marriage of Priests & dishonourable of the impugners.

mult

110 *An Answer to M. Halles Apology,*
 must his red cap stop our mouths, and he be termed
 a learned Cardinall: if a Pope, then *ex tripode*
 he defines him to be as learned as any hath beene in
 that roome for a thousand yeares: But if any speake a-
 gainst this licentious liberty, as did Gregory the
 leaenenth, he is presently a brand of hell, S. Dun-
 stane no more but plaine *Dustane*, and the like of
 S. Anselme most famous for learning and holy-
 nes of life. But all sanctity, all learning, all au-
 thority is lost with this man, if you allow not
 marriage vnto Priests, Bishops, Monks, Nunnes
 and all other votaries.

M. Halles
 contradi-
 ction a-
 bout pri-
 ority of
 tyme.

50. From the lawfullnes and necessity, he
 commeth to the antiquity of the marriage of
 Clergymen; and because he will deduce it from
 the Apostles tymes, yea from their examples he
 beginneth with this exordium: *How iust* (sayth
 he) *this law is you see; see now how ancient: for some*
doctrines haue nothing to plead for them but tyme: Age hath
beene an old refuge for falsehood: Tertullians rule is
true, that which is first is truest. So he: in which ob-
 scure words without any interposition at all of
 any other, there is a flat contradiction: for if
 age haue beene the refuge of falsehood, how can the
 other part be verifeyed, *the more ancient, the more*
true? againe if Tertullians rule be true, that which
 is first is truest, how can prescription of tyme be
 a refuge for falshood? Do these men wake or sleep,
 when they write? do they deale in matters of
 cōtrouersy, or deliuer their dreams? If that which
 is first is truest, then must priority of tyme be
 the guardian of truth, and not the refuge of fals-
 hood, which doth shunne and auoyd this tryall.

51. If this *Maxime* of trying truth by tyme,
 had

had byn obserued of King Henry 8. in England, Martin Luther in Saxony, and Zuinglius in Zurich, these late hereticall noueltyes, with which Europe is now pelted, had not entred with such full saile as they did: but then age was a refuge for falshood, and Tertullians rule was ouerruled as irregular, which now in the marriage of Priests is made to be the only square of truth: & truly as M. Hall doth handle the matter, it is made a Lesbian rule, which may be turned, changed, wristed, and applyed as you list: for if you vrge the constant, vni forme & generall consent of all places, tymes, pastours, writers for purgatory, reall presence, merits, iustification by good workes, the Supremacy of the sea of Rome, and the like, alwayes confessed, neuer without the brand of heresy denied, then is age the refuge of falshood, mother of error, and no certainty can be drawne from the authority of men: let but a minister haue but one seeming place of any Father neere the Apostles tymes, although but of one among all, and of all others disproued, as heere M. Hall presumeth of Clemens Alexandrinus, though he make indeed nothing for him, and then forthwith Tertullians rule is true, that which is first is truest, and these men will be the Aduocats of antiquity,

M. Hall makes antiquity a Lesbian rule.

— *Quo teneam vultus mutantem Protea nodo?* Horac. ep.

52. Now that he may for age ouerbear vs. he beginneth with Moses, and sayth, that it is cleere what he and the Iewes did, which is not denied, though yet in eating their Paschall Lambe they had their loynes girt, absteyned from their wiues when they did minister in the Tabernacle,

No argument of equality in perfection can be drawn from the Priests of the old law, to the Priests of the new.

No Apostle after his calling did marry & such as were married before did after their vocation leaue their wiues. See this answered in *Bellar.* cap 20. §. *Ad locum igitur.* *Luc. 8.*

cle, or did cate their *shew-breads*, had many purifications and cleansings, and in fine he who specially figured the eternall Priesthood of Christ our Saviour in the sacrifice of bread and wine, to wit, *Melchisedeke* is not read to haue had any wife at all, and the perfection of the new law being in so excelliue a degree about the other of *Moyse*, no argument grounded in equality or proportion can be made from the one to the other, or if any be, it must be the quite contrary to this of *M. Halles*, as before I haue noted. Wherefore omitting the old law, let vs come to the new, in which also this man would out strip vs: for he demandeth what did the Apostles? I answer that none after their Apostolicall vocation did marry, and they who were married before, did leaue their wiues. He asketh againe: Dost not *S. Paul* tell vs, that both the rest of the Apostles, and the brethren of our Lord, and *Cephas* had wiues (and which is more) carried them still along in their trauels? I answer him, no. For they were not wiues, but deuout women who followed them sometymes, and maintayned them, as there were some who did the like to our Saviour, as *S. Luke* recounteth: and it must needs argue great ignorance in this man, in not vnderstanding the Apostle expounded alike by all the Fathers, and intolerable pride (as these qualities commonly go together) in preferring his iudgment before all who euer wrote or commented on this place, in the Greeke or Latin Church, one only excepted, and not only preferreth his owne iudgment, but with exceeding contempt reiecteth them, laughes them to scorne.

53. For besides the omission of the article
 in, which should haue beene expresse as *Bel-*
larmin noteth, if the Apostle had meant wiues,
 the other two words ἀδελφὴν γυναῖκα in the iudg-
 ment of S. Hierome, S. Augustine and others, as we
 shall now see, do cleane ouerthrow this fancy,
 but what sayth this man. heereunto: for that chil-
 dish elusion (sayth he,) of ἀδελφὴν γυναῖκα, who can a-
 bide but to laugh at it? and citeth in the margent
 the translation of the Rhemes Testament, a sister
 a woman; which interpretation notwithstanding
 is approued by themselves in the mar-
 gent of the later editions of the English Bible,
 and therefore we may as well conclude, that S.
 Paul saying mulierem sororem did speake of a woman
 not a wife, as S. Peter saying, viri fratres, did speake
 of men, and not of husbands, for els ἀδελφὴν in
 the Greeke were superfluous: vpon which word
 alone S. Hierome against Iouinian M. Halls prede-
 cessour, doth most clearely cuince that they
 were not wiues, but other vertuous women: Si
 autem illud nobis opposuerit &c. If Iouinian (sayth he)
 shall object that vnto vs, to proue all the Apost-
 les to haue had wiues: haue we not power to carry
 about women or wiues (because γυναῖκα with the Grecians
 doth signify both) let him ioynethereunto what is
 in the Greeke copies: Numquid non habemus pote-
 statem sorores mulieres, vel vxores circumducendi? Haue
 we not power to carry about sisters women, or
 sisters wiues? Out of which it appeareth S. Paul
 to haue spoken of other holy woman, which ac-
 cording to the custome of the Iewes, did main-
 taine their teachers out of their wealth, as we
 read the like done to our Lord himselfe: for the

See the
 Bible see
 our Anno
 1611. and
 printed
 by Robert
 Barker.
 Act. 1.
 Hier. l. 1.
 in Iouin.
 The Apo-
 stles car-
 ried not
 their wiues
 vp and
 down the
 after the

H

order

For

order of the wordes importeth so much: *Have we not power to eate and drinke, or to carry about sisters women?* where first he speaketh of eating and drinking and maintayning them, and then he inferrs of women sisters, of which it is euident, not wiues but thole other women to be vnderstood (as is sayd) which mainteyned them of their goods, which also is recounted in the old law of that *Sunanise* which was wont to receaue *Elizaw*, & prepare him a table, bread, and candlesticke, or truly if we take the word *γυναῖκα* for *wiues*, not *women*, that which is added *sisters* taketh away *wiues*, & sheweth that they were their true sisters in spirit, not their *wiues*. Thus far S. Hierome. ¶

*August.
de opere
Monach.
c. 4. & 5.*

54. The same likewise sayth S. *Augustine*, to wit, that they were *fidelis mulieres habentes terrenam substantiam*, Christian women of wealth, who out of their substance maintayned the Apostles: and addeth (which I with M. Hall to marke) *hoc quisdam non intelligentes, non sororem mulierem &c.* This some not vnderstanding, interpret it not a woman sister, when the Apostle sayd: haue we not power to carry about a woman sister, but a wife, the double acception of the Greeke word deceaued them, because in the Greeke tongue by the same word is expressed a woman and a wife, although the Apostle haue so expressed this, as they should not haue beene deceaued, because he sayd not only a woman, but *sororem mulierem*, a sister woman, or woman sister, and sayth not of marrying, but of carrying them about. Neuertheles this ambiguousnes of the word deceaued not other interpreters, who expounded the word a woman, and not a wife.

So

So S. Augustine. And now let M. Hall if his beard be thicke enough to hide his face from blushing laugh at S. Hierome, & S. Augustine, for relying so much vpon the word *ἀδελφή*, sister, on which alone as you see they do both learnedly and directly inferre that they were not wiues, and S. Augustine also further addeth, that they vnderstand not the Apostle who otherwise interpret him: for the word *sister* is a cleare euiction they were not wiues: whereas on the other side this scely poore soule, against the one and the other, vpon his bare word sayth, they were wiues, but proueth it not; and that the word *sister* is so far from being an euiction, as it is a childish illusion, and that he cannot but laugh at it: *Vtri creditis audire?* whome had you rather belieue and follow, these most learned and renowned Doctours, or this ridiculous light headed Minister?

M. Hall is so light headed as to laugh at the exposition of all the Fathers.

55. Neither do these two alone (though they alone where nothing is brought to the contrary might suffice) follow this exposition: for except *Clemens Alexandrinus* whose singularity in this against the maine multitude of others, we rather seek to excuse then follow, and perhaps for this amongst other thinges did *Gelasius* condemne his bookes as Apocriphall: besides him I say, al others, as well Greeke as Latin interpret as we do. So S. Ambrose, Tertullian, S. Cyprian (if he and not Origen were the author of the worke de singularitate Clericorum) Primasius, Raimo, S. Bede, S. Thomas, and others of the Latin Church; and of the Greeke S. Chrysostome, Theodoret, Occumenius, Theophilactus &c. who as I suppose vnderstood Greeke somewhat better then our

Clem. A. 2.
lexan. 3.
Siroth. 2

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English Ministers do, and to charge all these with childish illusions, or to laugh at them, may better beleeue the franticke folly of some lewd Minister, then the iudgment or grauity of any discrete and sober man.

Clemens
Alexan-
drinus fa-
uoureth
not M.
Halls
cause.

56. Againe it is to be noted, that Clemens albeit he acknowledged more Apostles to haue had wiues then other authors will graunt, albeit he interpret S. Paul of carrying them about (a pretty vagary for the Apostles wiues, to runne vp and downe all the world ouer after their husbands) yet doth he deny that they vsed them as wiues, but only as sisters: so as neither the authority cited out of him, or S. Ignatius whome he also citeth, maketh any thing against vs at all supposing all were graunted which they say: for touching our cōtrouersy as well may we graunt all the Apostles to haue had wiues as one, and as much difficulty there is to answer one as all: for it sufficeth vs that after their calling to be Apostles, they vsed not their wiues, which Clemens confesseth, though as Baronijs proueth S. Paul had no wife, for which we may cite S. Paul himselfe: *Non potuisset* (sayth S. Ambrose) *ad tantam Apostolatus sui peruenire gratiam, si fuisset aliquando coniugij contubernio*. He could neuer haue come to so great honour of his Apostleship if he had bene tyed to a wife. So he, & the testimony of S. Ignatius to the contrary is a meer forgery of the rather Grecians, there being no such thing to be found in all the more ancient copyes that are extant.

Ambros.
ex lib. re. ad
virginic.
initio.

57. But sayth M. Hall, their owne Cardinall lea-
tiſt Caietan doth auouch and euince it. We acknow-
ledge

ledge *Caietan* to be our Cardinall, we acknowledge him to haue bene learned, especially in schoole learning, which far transcends this poor Epistlers capacity, and in interpreting the Scriptures we no lesse acknowledge him to haue had his errors, among which this may passe for one of turning *S. Paul* his companion into his wife, wherein he not only swarveth from all commentaries Greeke and Latin, but even from *Caietan*, of *S. Paul* and *Beza M. Halls* great Rabbys, and yet for the cause in hand maketh nothing against vs, who rest contented with eyther of these two graunts, to wit, that he was not married at all, or if he were married, that he vied not his wife after he was made an Apostle: and this later our owne learned Cardinall doth both auouch and euince for vs, and that in this very place by *M. Hall* in these wordes: *Constantissime credo, & nullatenus dubito &c.* I do most constantly belieue & no wayes doubt, that if *S. Paul* had no wife before his conuersion that he neuer had any at all: for hauing committed vnto him the charge of preaching the Gospel ouer the whole world, he had bene the veryest foole aliue, and had gaynsayd the doctrine of Christ, if he had married a wife: and much comfort must the wife haue had of such a husband, still ouerwhelmed with iniuries, stripes, wounds, brands, vncertainty of place, and incessiue pouerty: these I say had bene dainty marriages. Again I would most earnestly defend, yea clearly euince and perswade one who were not stubborn (for it were most easy) not one of the Apostles of Christ, who followed him after their calling, not only not to haue married.

Cardinall
Caietan
neuer al-
lowed that
Priests
should
marry.

This place
of *S. Paul*
is answered
by
Bellarmin
cap. 20. §.
ad locum
ex *Philip.*

Caietan.
com. in c.
4. ad *Phil.*

M. Hall by
his owne
Auctours

ryed, but to haue renounced their wiues which
 before they had taken. So our learned Cardinall: &
 will M. Hall allow this learning? I thinke not,
 and therefore I may well challenge this Cardi-
 nall to be truly ours in this controuerly, and
 all his auouching and euincing to be against the
 Protestants, so good choice hath he made of an
 Aduocate. But let vs proceed.

58. To end this matter of the Apostles he cometh from their practise, as he sayth to their Constitutions, & bids his Reader looke in these Canons, which the Romish Church fathers vpon the Apostle, & Fran. Turrian their Iesuit sweats to defend in a whol volume, there you find, *Can. 5.* enacted that no Bishop, Presbyter, Deacon, shall forsake his wife (*περὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν*) in pretence of Religion, vpon paine of deposition, it would moue laughter to see how the Iesuits gnaw vpon this bone, & suck in nothing but the bloud of their own iawes, while the sixt Generall Council auers and proclaims this sense truly Apostolical, in spite of all contradiction. Hitherto

M. Hall. In which words if you marke them well, one part doth ouerthrow the other: for he sayth of the Canons, that the Romish Church fathers them vpon the apostles, & that the Iesuits sweat to defend it, which is as much as if he had sayd, that they are not indeed theirs, and by Protestants they are disauowed, neither in other things will M. Hall stand to their authority. Wherefore this Canon euen in his own opinion is not so Canonically, as now he would make it, & how then doth he tell M. Whiting: *this was their practise, what was their constitution? How is it made such a hard bone, as he*

The Canon of the Apostles.

See this answered in Bellarmine c. 27. §. ad 1. Respondet Hubertus.

M. Hall. vrgeth the Apostles Canons for proffe & yet will haue them to be counterfeite.

who gnawes it can sucke in nothing but blood out of his owne iawes? For granting that it was not made by the Apollities, which Protestants do, and we may also if we list, there is no hardnes or difficulty in it at all. Wherefore to obtrude it for such, is a meere coosenage of his friend, and deluding of his Reader, or if he, more then his mates, will admit these Canons, then let him expound vs the 17. in order, wherein it is decreed that none can be made Bishop, Priest, or Deacon, who hath marryed a widdow, or one who was diuorced from her husband, or a seruing mayd: which if it were practised amongst them in our country, and all such deposed as are so marryed, who seeth not that the English Clergy would be soone reduced to a smaller number.

59. But the truth is, that he maketh no more account of this Canon, then of any counterfeited thing whatsoeuer, and thereby his Reader, & especially M. VVhiting, may know whom he trusteth: for to proue not only the doctrine & practise, but Constitutions also of the Apostles to stand for the marriage of Priests, he produceth for the later this Canon, and besides this no other authority, only for the approuance of the sense which he pretendeth, the Trullan Councell is cited, or rather misalleged, as presently I shall declare: and this Canon when he talketh with M. VVhiting, is so hard a bone as they who gnaw thereon can sucke nothing but blood out of their owne iawes; but afterwards forgetting what he had sayd to him, he telleth his tippling ridiculous friend Thomas Iames of Oxford another tale, & maketh this prooffe out of the Apostles Constitution,

as light as a feather, and with one blast bloweth both it and some nyne or ten Fathers with it away together, exclaýming against vs for relying any authority thereon: *VVhat a flourish* (sayth Decad. 4. he) *do they make with vsurped names? whome would it* pag. 183. *not amaze to see the frequent citations of the Apostles owne Canons, Constitutions, Liturgyes, Masses, Clement, Denis the Arcopagite, Linus, Hyppolitus, Martial of Burdeaux, Egesippus, Donations of Constantyne the Great, and Lewys the godly, of 50. Canons of Neece, of Dorotheus, Damasus his Pontificall &c. and a little after of all these and others he layth, that all carry in them manifest brands of falshood and supposition: and consequently this matter of Prietts marriage which he would shew to M. VVhiting to be the Apostles constitution, and that out of one of their owne Canons, drawing bloud from the fawes of all Catholikes that gnaw thereon, is only a meer cosenage & deceit; for this Canon, this Constitution is nothing els, but a wayne flourish of vsurped names, and amazing of M. VVhiting with the citation of a Canon, and constitution Apostolicall, which by his owne confession hath nothing in it of any Apostolicall authority, but only of meere falshood, supposition, and forgery: this is indeed to incurre the Gal. 2. Apostles checke of pulling downe that which before he had built, this is to blow hoat and cold with the same breath, to say and vnsay, allow and disallow any testimony or authority at his pleasure.*

60. Neither were it a matter of any difficulty to iustify the credit of all the Authors he reproveth if I would digresse so far, and the thing

thing it selfe did so require: but to auoyd larger excursions into other matters not incident to the controuersy in hand, I will leaue all our prooffe in this matter, and in one word deale with M. Hall, as God did with the Egyptians, of whome in the Prophet *Isay* he sayd: *Concurrere Isa. 19. faciam Egyptios contra Egyptios*. I will set Egyptians against Egyptians, Protestants against Protestants, M. Halls brothers or rather Maisters and Superiours against him, to speake, to defend, to vrge the authority of S. Clement, S. Denis, S. Damasus, S. Dorotheus heere denyed, and others of no lesse vncertaine authority with some of our Aduersaries, then any that M. Hall hath named: for this is a solemne custome and very currant amongst these men, that in case some Catholike do vrge any of these Authours against their heresy, then presently to discarde them with contempt, to twite them with bastardy, or (as M. Jewell scornfully was wont to do) to say they are of the blacke guard: but when Protestants and Puritans warre one against the other, then are these Authours classically, their workes vndoubted, their words of weight, their credit uncontrollable, which point as I sayd were not hard to shew in diuers particulars if I would stand vpon them.

61. M. Doctour *Whitgift* lately tearmed of *Canterbury*, when he wrote against the Puritans vrged the authorities of the toure aboue named, and for that they were denyed by *Cartwright* and others, as branded with falshood and suppositi-
on, the Author of the *Suruey of the pretended discipline* in a long chapter (wherein the Puritans

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 dealing with the ancient Fathers, Ecclesiasticall
 historyes, and generall Councils are layd open)
 checketh them for the same: for (to pretermitt
 other charges of their contempt and reiection
 of Fathers) thus in one place he writeth: To
 proue the antiquity (sayth he) and lawfulness of the name
 of Archbishop, there being alleadged the authorities of
 Clement, Anacletus, Anicetus, Epiphanius,
 Ambrose, & Sozomenus &c. the Puritans teame
 the bringing in of these authorities, the moving and sum-
 moning of hell, that those tymes were not pure and virgin-
 like, but departed from Apostolicall simplicity, and do tread
 them all vnder feet with as great facility as may be: Cle-
 ment, Anacletus, and Anicetus, are discharged for
 rogues, and men branded in the fore-head. So there,
 with more to the same effect: and after to proue
 S. Timothy to haue beene Bishop of Ephesus, are
 cited among others Dorotheus and Dionysius Areopa-
 gita, with the like disallowance of the the Puri-
 tans as the former: whereas yet Oliuer Ormerod in
 his Picture, towards the end, to proue the inter-
 rogatoryes made in Baptisme to be no trifles or
 toys, as the Puritans tearmed them, but vsed in
 the Apostles dayes, citeth S. Denis Areopagita: and
 A. N. in his Bible-bearer doth the like to proue
 the vse of the Crosse vsed in the same Sacrament
 saying: Dionysius Areopagita, who liued in the Apostles
 tyme, maketh mention of the Crosse in Baptisme &c.
 But not to digresse further from the Suruey, wher
 immediatly before the place aboue cited for the
 antiquity of the name of Archdeacon were allead-
 ged sayth this Suruey our, the testimonyes of Da-
 masus, Hierome, Sixtus, Sozomene, and Socrates, to
 whose authorities their answer is: two of them

Suruey
 pag. 129.
 330. &
 de m. eps.
 Pag. 126.
 Against
 the Puri-
 tans the
 Protestants
 object Pa-
 thers,
 which
 they refu-
 se when
 they are
 objected
 against
 themsel-
 ues.

Pag. 338.

Dionys. de
 Eccl. hie-
 rar l. 7. c.
 de baptis.

are counterfais: Damasus spake in the dragons voyce: among men the best ground beareth thisfles: those tymes were corrupt, and yet Sixtus liued Bishop of Rome about the yeare 265. and was a godly Martyr. So the Suruey, and M. Iewell in his Reply citeth also Fabian, Alexander, Anacletus, and others: so as with the Protestants, S. Clement, S. Denis, S. Damasus, Anacletus, Anicetus, Sixtus, Alexander, Fabian, Dorotheus, are good Authours, and if they speake in their behalfe their words must be admitted for true authority in respect of their vertue and venerable antiquity, and the Puritans for denying their testimonyes, condemned as enemyes to the ancient Fathers.

62. This is the course held by the Protestants against the Puritans, but when they write against vs, then do they turne their sayles, and then are all these Fathers counterfeited, and not the authours of those workes extant vnder their names, then will M. Iewell tell vs that this S. Denis cannot be Areopagita S. Pauls disciple, and M. Will. Charke very soberly lets vs know, that hath not beene a companion of our bastard Denis in his iourney to heauen. Then againe will M. Iewell demaund from whence commeth M. Hardings Clement? then Damasus, Anacletus, Anicetus, Sixtus, Alexander, Fabian and all other Popes decretall epistles do manifestly deprave and abuse the Scriptures, they maintayne the state and kingdome of the Pope, they publish vaine and superstitious ceremonyes, and proclaime such things as are knowne to be open lyes: then will he labour to shew, that they cannot possibly be theirs whose names they beare. So he dealing sayth of them all in generall, and after by name with the he casteth of Anacletus, Anicetus, and Fabian, but yet

in

in the same diuision, forgetting him'selfe to confirme what he would haue, he citeth a decree of *Anacleto*, and in the next diuision after, another of *Fabian*, saying: *Fabianus* also Bishop of Rome bath plainly decreed that the people should receaue the Communion euery Sunday. So as it these Decretall epittles make for him they are forthwith authenticall, if against him then is there nothing in them but deprauation of Scriptures, superstitious ceremonies, knowne and open lyes.

63. And whatsafoeuer *M. Hall* in wordes doth pretend of the other ancient Doctours whose workes are allowed, and whome in one place he setteth forth with their honourable titles, as *sententious Tertullian*, *grane Cyprian*, *resolute Hierome*, *flowing Chrysostome*, *diuine Ambrose*, *deuout Bernard*, and who alone is all these, *heavenly Augustine*, adding further their Counsells, verdicts and resolutions to be wise and holy, and in another place contelling the Court of the Fathers, as *reuerend a tryall as any vnder heauen*: yet notwithstanding all this, when this tryall shall be made, this man will *stare post principis*, play least in sight, or rather fly far out of the field: for the chiefeft champions of these later Sectaries haue still refused to enter into this combat, & he by name who gaue the first name to the bale brat of the Sacramentary heresy, *Zuinglius* I meane, in one place thus writeth of them all together: *Mox incipis clamare Patres Patres &c.* Presently (sayth he) you begin to crye the Fathers the Fathers, so forsooth the Fathers haue deliuered, but I reply vnto you that not the Fathers, nor the mothers, but the word of God it is that I require. So he. And *Musculus* so much reuerenced

*Decad. 4.
ep. 3. to
M. Mat-
thew Mi-
lward.
Loco su-
pra citat.
Tryall by
the Fa-
thers reie-
cted by
the chiefe
Protestant
writers.
Zuing. in
explanat.
art. 64.*

reuerenced euery where by M. *VVhitaker*, sayth *Musculus* that he is malignāt to the Church of God, who *in lo. is* admits the tryall of Fathers. Doctor *Humphreyes* *com. tir. de* in *lewells* life sayth : *Quid rei nobiscum Patribus, cum* *Scripturis* *faceris.* *carne & sanguine?* What haue we to do with the Fathers, with flesh and bloud? and M. *VVhitaker* makes this Caueat : *Caueendum semper est ne* *VVhitaker.* *ad s. ratio.* *Campiani.* *minium* *Patribus* *tribuamus* *cum* *Papistis* *&c.* We must still beware not to giue too much credit to the Fathers with the Papists, but that in reading them we maintaine our right and liberty, and examine all their sayings by the rule of the Scripture with which it they agree, that we receaue them, but if they disagree, that then with their good leaue we may freely reiect them. So he. And further demandeth this wise question, *equum ne iudicas &c.* do you thinke it meet, M. *Campion*, that if the Fathers erred in interpreting the Scriptures, that we should follow their steps? and that we should forsake the truth we haue found, because they could not find it? Lo what account these men make of the Fathers whose credit on the sodain is with M. *Hall* so great, and tryall so reuerend.

64. But not to enter further into this matter, *Luther* alone may suffice to cleare this question, who by name reiecteth all those whom M. *Hall* in words will seeme to admire. S. *Cyprian* he *Sermos.* calleth a weake deuine, S. *Chrysostome* a babler, *conuinciali.* S. *Ambrose* vnlearned, *Tertullian* no better then *bus tir. de* *Caroloostadius*, *Luthers* cōtemptible Antagonist, S. *Ber.* *Patribus.* *ward* a good preacher a bad disputer, in S. *Augustine* nothing sayth he is singular, but especially aboute al others he railleth at S. *Hierom*, to whom
he

*Ad cap.
21. Genes.*

*Serm.
coun. cap.
de scholast.
Theolog.*

No Fa-
thers euer
fauoured
the mar-
riage of
Priests.

he sayth: *Quin te Hieronyme conculcamus, cum tua Be-
thleem, cuculia & deserto.* Why do we not tread thee
Hierom vnder our feet with thy *Berthleem*, coole
& desert. And in another place he sayth he was
an *Heretike*, and addeth the cause, which some-
what concerneth *M. Hall*: *Nihil de Christo loquitur,
duntaxat illius nomen ore fert &c.* he sayth nothing
of Christ, only he hath his name in his mouth,
I know none to whome I am so great an enemy
as vnto *Hierom*, and why I pray you? what hath
S. Hierome done to you more then the rest that
may deserue so great hatred? *mary* sayth this fat
Fryer: *Tantum scribis de ieiunio, de delectu ciborum, de
virginitate &c.* The wrong is euident: for he
only writeth of fasting, of choice of meaner
meats, of virginity, & the like, which is a yoke
that neither lewd *Luther*, nor *M. Hall*, nor any
els of the one or other sect can support: and had
M. Hall found any reliefe for his cause in any of
these Fathers for the marriage of Priests, their
names, and authorityes had not beene spared in
his text or margent, but he citeth no one of
them al for this matter, but two or three words
of *S. Cyprian* about *Numidicus*, & they most sham-
fully mistaken, as shall be shewed in the next Pa-
ragraffe: and when he shall reade their wordes
by me cyted against him, he will I doubt not
deale with their authorityes as he doth heere
with the Apostles *Constitutions*, canonize them
when they may seeme to make for his purpose,
and afterwards tell vs they were all men, they
had their errours: he will follow them as far as
they follow the Scriptures, and no further,
which is iust as much, and as a little as him selfe
listeth

listeth: for if they interprete the Scriptures against him (as we see they did the wordes of the Apostle of carrying about a woman sister) then their learned Commentaries shall be childish illusions, and he cannot hold but, out of the reverend respect he bears them, must needs laugh them all to scorne: but to returne to the Constitutions.

65. If M. Hall contend that this authority though not approued by him, yet at least vrgeth vs who allow these Canons: I answer that our allowance of the is not so absolute, but may admit restriction: for though some plead for them, yet others disprove them, and Baronius answering this very obiection, sayth of all these Canons:

Apocryphorum non est tanta auctoritas &c. there is not such authority to be given vnto Apocryphall Canons, as to infringing things so certayne, so ratified, & confirmed as is the single life of Clergy men: at least M. Hall should not haue put downe the matter in such peremptory and vndoubted termes, where on all hands he knew to be so much controuersy: and it is an vntruth worthy of himselfe to say, that the sixth Councell proclaimes this sense truly Apostolicall in spight of Bishops al contradiction: for there we find no such proclamation, but the contrary especially concerning Bishops: for in the next precedent Canon the people of *Afrike* and *Lybia* exhibited a complaint against some Bishops for only dwelling with their wiues which they had married before they were Bishops, and the Councell decreeth, *v: nihil eiusmodi deinceps vilo modo fiat*, that no such thing hereafter be in any wise done.

Baron.
tom. 1. ann.
no 53. §.
Hisigitur.
Newer
lawful for
to marry,
or keep
their
wiues.

with

128 *Answere to M. Halles Apology,*
with this thundring conclusion: *Si quis autem tale
aliquid agere deprehensus fuerit, deponatur.* If any shall
be found to do the like let him be deposed. For
which cause in the next Canon whereon this
man most relyeth, no Bishop is named, but only
Subdeacon, Deacon, or Priest without any fur-
ther ascent, and you may imagine what these
would haue sayd and decreed of our Protestant
Prelats (who not only dwell with their wiues
but vse them vs much as before) if such a com-
plaint had beene brought and exhibited against
them.

Concil.
Trullan.
Canon, 48.

The true
sense of
the Apo-
stolicall
Canon.

66. Furthermore in the same Councell, the
48. Canon doth both confirm what I haue now
sayd of Bishops wiues, and explicateth also this
other Canon of the Apostles: for thus they de-
fine: *Uxor eius qui ad Episcopalem dignitatem promotus
est, communi sui viri consensu prius separata &c.* Let the
wife of him who is promoted, when he is orde-
red and consecrated Bishop, being by mutuall
consent first separated, enter into some monaste-
ry, built far from the dwelling place of the Bi-
shop, and let her be maintayned by him. So this
Canon, & so it seemeth that these men although
incontinent inough, were not yet fully arryed
to the perfection of our English Protestants,
but came one degree behind them: and it is eu-
ident also that when in the Apostles Canon it is
prohibited that no Priest *eiciat*, or *absciat*, turne
out of doores his wife, or shake her off to shift for
her selfe, it is to be vnderstood not of their sepa-
ration the one from the other but of their main-
tenance, that their husbands should be bound
to prouide for them: & the Greeke word which

M. Hall

M. Hall so often citeth, but seemeth not to vnderstand confirms this sense: for it signifyeth as well warines, as Religion, and as *Bellarmino* well obserueth, the meaning is, that no Bishop or Priest vnder pretext of warines, because he is bound to liue continently, put his wife away without further care of prouiding for her: & this sense is also suowed by S. Gregory, and the 2. Councell of *Towers*, and was giuen long since to this obiection, as M. Hall may find in *Gratian*, where he hath found things of far lesse momēt, but this he listeth not to see.

Greg. l. 7. ep. 19. Conf. Turon. Can. 8. Distin. 31. cap. 1. Ont. 2. nio.

67. And these are all the proofes he could find out of the Apostles writings, practise, and constitutions, wherein how little he hath gayned you haue now seen, or rather how he is cast in them all: for whatsoever Apostolicall authority deliuered in writing, what practise soeuer recounted by antiquity, all Canons, and Constitutions canonically being taken in the sense they haue alwayes beertofore beene taken that is, in their true and proper meaning, without wresting, mangling, misinterpreting, or other bad demcanour, are so far from succouring his cause, as they quite ouerthrow it, and yield inuincible arguments for the Catholike truth: hauing seen this I say, you may well iudge how well he deserueth according to his owne proffer to be punished with a diuorce, the greatest punishment as it should seeme that can be inflicted on this tender harted husband, which yet will be more cleare in the ensuing authorityes taken from the Fathers, which are lesse lyable vnto his commentaries then the Scriptures, of which many

Texts he boldly peruerterth with his own glosse, or which is all one with the commentaries of late hereticall writers repugnant to the ancient; but the other testimonies taken from the Fathers, and histories recounting only matter of fact, need no commentaries for their explanation, and so are lesse subiect to his abuse. Let vs then see what he alleadgeth.

Of the testimonies and examples of the ancient Fathers, Couacells (especially the Trullan) and Histories produced by M. Hall for the marriage of Priests and Clergy men. §. 2.

A vaine
flourish.

FROM the Scriptures and Apostolicall tymes M. Hall drawes vs to the Fathers of the Primitive Church & succeeding ages, & as though in the former he had giuen vs a deadly blow, he entreth into this with more courage, and means as it should seeme to knocke on a pace while the iron is hoate: for as if he were afraid to loose the aduantage if he did not closely pursue vs, he sayth: *Follow the tymes now, what did the ages succeeding? search records: whatsoeuer some palpable foysted epistles of Popes insinuate, they married without scruple of any contrary iniunction: many of these ancients admired virginity, but imposed it not. So M. Hall: feigning as you see golden ages of mirth, and marrying vnder the most grieuous yoke of tyrannicall persecution, when as euery where innocent blood was shed, and Christians fought for to the slaughter. That marriage al tymes without contrary iniunction was lawfull, is not denyed, nor will it be proued in hast, that Priests or such as had vowed the contrary*

contrary, might vse that liberty: and we say not that virginity is violently to be imposed on any, for it commeth by free election, but where the vow is free, the transgression is damnable: for we are bound to render our vowes to him, to whome we haue made them. I need not make my self a souldier, vnles the Prince do presse me, but if not pressed I put my selfe vnder pay, I am bound to march to the field, to fight, and follow the campe. The cause is free, the necessity subsequent.

2. And it seemeth *M. Hall* to be halfe afrayd notwithstanding his facing, to stand to this tryall, in that like a malefactour he presently seeketh for a citty of refuge to retyre vnto when he shall be pressed: for if you bring him any record of a Pope, though a Martyr and Saint, and neere the Apostles tymes (and the same we may imagine of others) he blots out his authority with one dash of his pen, and sayth: *that they are palpably foysted epistles*, you must not put him to the prooffe, for that were too too much to his disreputation: he takes himself for another *Pithagoras*, whose word without other warrant must be your best assurance: and for authors to plead for his marriage, you must thinke he findeth great scarcity, when as for the first foure hundred years, he could only find but three, *Origen*, *S. Athanasius*, and *S. Cyprian*, of which the first sayth not word for him, the second is against him, & *Origen* the third is most shamefully abused, of which abuse the first also wanteth not his part.

M. Hall
starting
holes
when he
shall be
pressed by
authori-
ty.

Origen
falsly al-
leadged

3. For to begin with *Origen*, who though him- by *M.*
selfe a willfull Eunuch (sayth *M. Hall*) yet vsaine to *Hall*.

Origen. persuade the Sonnes of Clergymen not to be proud of their
tract. 9. in parentage. Graunt it be so, what thereof will be
Matth. interre against vs, who will graunt further that
 the same perswasion might haue beene made to
 S. Peters daughter (as many are of opinion that
 he had one) and yet will it not follow, that he
 knew his wife after he was an Apostle, as it nei-
 ther doth in this case, that these parents were
 Priests when they begot these sonnes: and that
 indeed they were not, we shall need no better
 interpreter to explicate *Origen* then *Origen* him-
Origen. selfe, who telleth vs: *Certum est quia impeditur sa-*
hom. 23. in *cificium indefinens &c.* It is certaine that the con-
Numer. tinuall sacrifice cannot be offered of these who
 attend to the works of wedlocke. Wherefore in
 my opinion he alone is to offer the euerduring
 sacrifice, who hath vowed himselfe to an euer-
Lib. 7. during and perpetuall chastity. So *Origen.* And
 in his booke against *Celsus*, shewing the force and
 efficacy of Christian doctrine, and what chang
 of life it worketh in such as imbrace it, he sayth
 of them: *Tantum absunt ab omni lascivia, spur-*
citia, turpitudine libidinum, ut in morem perfectorum sa-
cerdotum ab omni coitu abhorrentium &c. They are
 so far from all wantones, vncleanes, and fil-
 thy lust, that after the manner of perfect Priests
 abhorring all carnall knowledge, many of them
 do altogether liue chastly, and purely from all
 conuersation, yea though otherwise lawfull,
 with women. So he. By which it is euident,
 what he thought of single life of Priests, and that
 in the place cited by *M. Hall* he did speake of the
 children they had before they were either Bi-
 shops, Priests, or Deacons which nothing at all
 toucheth

toucheth our Controuersy, as in the beginning I obserued.

4. Though this somewhat touch M. Hall's credit that he vnruly deliuereth the sense of O. M. Hall's *Origen*, when he maketh him to perswade the sonnes of Clergy men not to be proud of their parentage: for that is not *Origen's* perswasion, but that they should not be proud, that they had always byn brought vp in the Christian fayth, and insult ouer others, who had byn conuerted from Paganism, seeing our Sauour sayd, *Multi erunt nouissimi primi, & primi nouissimi*: Many who were first shall be last, and many who were last shall be first: which would haue beene apparent, had M. Hall permitted him to speake out of his owne mynd, & not as though he had beene troubled with a chynough, to speake some words, and leaue others vnspoken: were these three wordes, M. Hall (in *ipsa Christianitate*, in the Christian fayth) such rough burrs as they must needs sticke in your throat? or so troublesome vnto you to write as they must be cut off with an *&c.* for whereas *Origen* hath: *Qui à Christianis parentibus enutriti sunt in ipsa Christi anitate, maxime si fuerint ex Patribus sacerdotali sede dignificatis &c.* Who are brought vp of Christian parents in Christian fayth, especially of Fathers dignified with priesthood &c. M. Hall citeth all the other sentence at full length, but stumbleth at these three words, in *ipsa Christianitate*, saying: *Qui à Christianis parentibus enutriti sunt &c. maxime si fuerint ex patribus sacerdotali sede dignificatis*, as though he had spoken of carnall education, whereas he speaketh of their education in fayth and beliefe: and then falsely telleth vs.

Origen.

Matth. 19.

134 *An Answer to M. Halles Apology,*
that he had perswaded them not to be proud of
their parentage, whereas the pride he speaketh
of, is not of their parentage, but of the priority
of their calling to Christ, for that they had al-
wayes beene Christians, and the other not, but
had first beene Pagans, as is euident to any who
will read the place.

5. His second author, as I sayd, is S. Athana-
sius, before whose wordes he maketh this Enco-
miasticall entrance, *Holy Athanasius a witness past ex-
ception, shall serue for a thousand histories till his age.* So
made to M. Hall; and one would thinke he had found
speak the M. Hall; and one would thinke he had found
quite con- somewhat in this worthy Authour (for you shal
trary to not find him easily to prayse, where he is not
that beholding) that wil directly conclude & supply
which he all histories, or whatsoeuer defect of other au-
intedeth. thority. But as men in their sleep do dreame of-
Ath. ep. ten of great wealth, & when they wake do find
ad Dra- nothing, so M. H. as it should seeme not in his
contium. sleep (though perhaps in some slumber) but in
serious study dreameth of great wealth and ad-
uantage, where he doth find nothing els but
his owne shame, beggary, and confusion.

6. The wordes he citeth of S. Athanasius are
these: *Many Bishops haue not marryed, and contrarily
Monkes haue beene fathers of children, as contrarily you
see Bishop the fathers of children and Monkes that haue
not sought posterity.* So out of S. Athanasius, which so
little serueth to our purpose, as M. Hall might
have been ashamed to alleadge it; for what will
he infer of these wordes? that Bishops & Monks
may lawfully marry? S. Athanasius sayth it not,
but only recounteth the fact that some marryed
of both sorts, but whether they did well or ill,

or

or whether himselfe did approue or condemne the same, there is no word in this sentence: but if *M. Hall* had not taken his authorities by retayle off some blind note-booke, but had fetched them himselfe from the originalls, *this witnes without exception that must serue for a thousand histories*, had neuer beene alledged to testify any thing in this matter. For so far is *S. Athanasius* from allowing Bishops and Monkes to haue wiues, as in this place he reprehendeth the lewd behauiour of some who liued in the one and other state, I meane Episcopall dignity, and Monasticall profession, the occasion whereof was giuen him by *Dracontius*, who at the perswasion as it should seeme of the Monkes, would not yield to *S. Athanasius* to be made Bishop, but objected that many incoueniencies followed that state, which draw diuers into danger, & many to perdition, from which the retyred repose of a Religious life was free and secure. *S. Athanasius* answereth heereunto by shewing these dangers to be no lesse in Monasticall, then Episcopall profession, and that as well by the scandalous examples which had fallen out in both, as euident verrue which had beene found in either: for thus he discourseth: *Nec dicas, nec dicentibus cretas Episcopatum esse causam peccati, aut quod inde nascantur occasiones delinquendi &c.* Tell me not, nor belieue them who tell you that Episcopality is the cause of sinne, or that from thence proceed the occasions of offence: and a little after: *Ne igitur talia obiciant tui Consiliarij.* Let not those who counsaile you object these thinges: for we haue knowne Bishops fasting, and Monkes feeding; we haue knowne

The true sense and meaning of *S. Athanasius*.

a Bishops not drinking wine, and Monkes drink-
 a king; we haue knowne Bishops working mi-
 a racles, and Monkes working none; many Bi-
 a shops not to haue married, and Monkes to haue
 a had children; as likewise you may find Bishops
 a to haue bene fathers of children, and Monkes
 a not to haue sought for marriage; Clergy men to
 a haue tipled, & Monkes to haue bene abstinent,
 So he. Shewing both the one & the other state,
 by their bad members, to be subiect to abuse, &
 concludeth: *Non enim corona pro loco, sed pro factis*
redditur. The crowne of glory is not giuen for
 the place, or profession we liue in, but for the
 good workes we do in that profession.

Priests
 were not
 married
 in time
 of S. A-
 thanasius.

7. By which it is euident that the wordes
 so barely brought forth by M. Hall, were not
 spoken by way of simple narration, but of mis-
 like and reprehension: for it was neuer lawfull
 for Monkes or Bishops to beget children, & that
 neither Priests might do the like in the tyme of
 S. Athanasius, is demonstrated by the testimony
 of S. Hierome, who liued in the same age, & de-
 mandeth of *Vigilius* the sworne enemy of vir-
 ginall chastity, and who no lesse then his chil-
 dren our Protestants, would haue al Clergy men
 to marry: *Quid facient Orientis Ecclesia? quid Aegypti*

Hier. l. 1. & sedis Apostolica? qua aut virgines e ericos accipiunt, aut
in Vigil continent, aut si uxores habuerint, mariti esse desistunt.

If all Clergy men must marry, what shall the
 a Churches of Greece, of Egypt, and the sea Apo-
 a stolikedo, who receaue into the Clergy, either
 a virgins, or such as be continent, or if they haue
 a had wiues, do cease to be husbands? So he. When
 so expressly naming the Church of Egypt, of
 which

which Alexandria was the chiefe seat, & the praeside therein, he taketh away all doubt or scruple: for it marriage were there denyed to Priests, much more to Monkes, & Bishops, whose calling requires greater perfection, and more singular vertue.

8. Wherefore when S. Athanasius sayth: that be bash knowne Monkes the fathers of children, he speaketh of lewd licentious Monkes, that by loose S. Athanasius fel from the leuerity of their order, of which nasius euen yet in freish memory, we haue likewise speaketh knowne some, and those marryed also to Nuns, and to haue beene the fathers of many children. For thus the first Progenitor of your new Ghespell Martin Luther speaketh of himselfe: Anno 25 in seditione Rusticorum 12. Iunij uxorem duxi &c. Tom. 2. latin. col. loq. rit. de morbis In the yeare 25. (to wit after a thousand five hundred) in the sedition of the Boors (when all Germany was in armes and vprore) the 12. of June (to driue care away) I marryed a wife: in the yeare 26. my eldest sonne Iohn was borne: in Luthers the yeare 27. my daughter Elizabeth: in the yeare 29. on the cue of the Ascension Magdalen: in the yeare 31. the 7. of Nouember Martin: in the year 33. the 18. of Ianuary Paul: in the yeare 34. Augu. de bono viduaret. it. c. 12. & Chrys. ep. 6. ad Theod. lapsu. Thus Luther of Catherine Bore his sow had six pigs: for had he not beene a beast, he would neuer haue gloryed in his sacrilegious marriage (worse in the iudgment of S. Augustine then aduowtry) and his vlawfull issue.

9. But for multitude of children we haue another Patriarke of a more plentifull progeny, who will for number twice ouergo Luther, and contend with Iacob himselfe, yea ouerbear him

Gretserus
com. & -
egético in
Iacobum
Regem c.
 2.

Bernardi-
nus Ochi-
nus.

2. *Cor.* 15.

3. *Cypriā*
shameful-
ly abused.

Cypr. l. 4.
epist. 10.

by one, and that is *Martin Bucer* another renegade Apostata, and Apostle of Cambridge, who of one Nunne is sayd to haue had thirteen children: & yet as though these generations did not multiply fast enough, he who by the Duke of *Somerset Seymour* was called into England with this *Martin*, to preach in *London*, was content to allow them as many wiues together, as the former had children, if not more: so as when these men were sent forth to sow the seed, or rares rather, of these later heresies, they obserued the rule of the Apostle, but in a wrong sense: *Non prius quod spirituale, sed quod animale*, nature went before grace, the carnall generation before the spirituall, the first care to satisfy their owne lult, and then to instruct their followers. I omit other of the same stampe as *Peter Martyr*, *Oecolampadius*, *Pellican* &c. all husbands of one wife at least, but vnworthy of further mention, as being famous for nothing so much as their owne infamy.

10. You must thinke that for the last prooffe by authority he hath kept a sure carde, seeing neither of the former to make for him, and for that end he seemeth of purpose to haue displaced it: for if we respect the tyme *S. Cyprian* is more ancient then *S. Athanasius*, and yet heere he is put after him, and made to say, that *Numidicus* the Martyr was a married Presbyter (for Priest he will not name him) and then citeth in the margent the words of *S. Cyprian* thus: *Numidicus presbyter qui uxorem concrematam & adharentem lateri latus aspexit.* *Numidicus* the Priest who cheerefully saw his wife sticking fast to his side, to be burned. So *S. Cyprian*, as *M. Hall* hath made him speake,

speake : and this testimony I confesse seemeth to
 vige more then the former, becaule he was a
 Priest, was married, & his wife *adharebat lateri*,
 so as it should seeme they liued not alunder. A-
 gaine the Authour is without exception, the
 tyme most ancient, the case cleare : and truly if
 the matter stand as heere it is declared, I will not
 withstand him heerein, but graunt (which is
 yet more then I need) that he hath by this ex-
 ample cuinced his cause, and will neuer any
 more mention his diuorce.

11. But if in this passage he cog notoriously,
 if he affirme the quite contrary to that which is
 in his author, if as before out of *Origen*, he cut
 off three wordes with an *&c.* : so heere he do add
 one word which quite altereth the sense, then I
 hope his friends will bethinke them well how
 they trust such iugglers, who with the Ægypti-
 ans looke them in the face, whiles their fingers
 be in their purse, and I wish that with his false-
 hood he did but picke their purses, and not se-
 duce their soules, bought & ransomed with the
 deere price of the precious blood of the sonne of
 God. And that there be no mistaking betweene
 vs, remember I pray what M. Hall doth affirme,
 to wit, that *Numidicus* was a married Priest, and
 that S. Cyprian auoucheth so much : I on the o-
 ther side deny both the one and the other, and
 say that he was neuer a married Priest, and that
 S. Cyprian neuer sayd any such thing, but the
 quite contrary, that he was made priest after his
 wiues death. Let S. Cyprian decide the doubt be-
 tweene vs.

What M.
 Hall doth
 affirme
 out of S.
 Cyprian,
 and I do
 deny.

12. This *Numidicus* then being a married
 man

Gretserus
com. &
egético in
Iacobum
Regem c.
2.

Bernardi-
nus Ochi-
nus.

2. Cor. 15.

8 Cyprian
shameful-
ly abused.

Cyprian. l. 4.
epist. 10.

by one, and that is *Martin Bucer* another renegade Apollata, and Apollie of Cambridge, who of one Nunne is sayd to haue had thirteen children: & yet as though these generations did not multiply fast enough, he who by the Duke of *Somerset Seymour* was called into England with this *Martin*, to preach in *London*, was content to allow them as many wiues together, as the former had children, if not more: so as when these men were sent forth to sow the seed, or tares rather, of these later heresies, they obserued the rule of the Apostle, but in a wrong sense: *Non prius quod spirituale, sed quod animale*, nature went before grace, the carnall generation before the spirituall, the first care to satisfy their owne lust, and then to instruct their followers. I omit other of the same stampe as *Peter Martyr*, *Oecolampadius*, *Pellican* &c. all husbands of one wife at least, but vnworthy of further mention, as being famous for nothing so much as their owne infamy.

10. You must thinke that for the last prooffe by authority he hath kept a sure card, seeing neither of the former to make for him, and for that end he seemeth of purpose to haue displaced it: for if we respect the tyme *S. Cyprian* is more ancient then *S. Athanasius*, and yet heere he is put after him, and made to say, that *Numidicus* the Martyr was a married Presbyter (for Priest he will not name him) and then citeth in the margent the words of *S. Cyprian* thus: *Numidicus presbyter qui uxorem concrematam & adhaerentem lateri latus aspexit.* *Numidicus* the Priest who cheerefully saw his wife sticking fast to his side, to be burned. So *S. Cyprian*, as *M. Hall* hath made him
speake,

spake: and this testimony I confesse seemeth to
 yrge more then the former, because he was a
 Priest, was married, & his wife *adharebat lateri*,
 so as it should seeme they liued not alunder. A-
 gaine the Authour is without exception, the
 tyme most ancient, the case cleare: and truly if
 the matter stand as heere it is declared, I wil not
 withstand him heerein, but graunt (which is
 yet more then I need) that he hath by this ex-
 ample euinced his cause, and will neuer any
 more mention his diuorce.

11. But if in this passage he cog notoriously,
 if he affirme the quite contrary to that which is
 in his author, if as before out of *Origen*, he cut
 off three wordes with an *&c.*: so heere he do add
 one word which quite altereth the sense, then I
 hope his friends will bethinke them well how
 they trust such iugglers, who with the Ægyp-
 tians looke them in the face, whiles their fingers
 be in their purse, and I wish that with his false-
 hood he did but picke their purses, and not se-
 duce their soules, bought & ransomed with the
 deere price of the precious blood of the sonne of
 God. And that there be no mistaking betweene
 vs, remember I pray what M. Hall doth affirme,
 to wit, that *Numidicus* was a married Priest, and
 that S. *Cyprian* auoucheth so much: I on the o-
 ther side deny both the one and the other, and
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What M.
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12. This *Numidicus* then being a married
 man

When
Numidi-
cus was
made
Priest.

Epist. 35.
iuxta Pa-
melum.
alias l. 4.
ap. yltim.

man was by the persecutours carryed together with his wife and others to be martyred, therest were put to death before him, & with them he cheerefully saw his wife burned, making no other account but to drinke of the same cup, and to follow her into the flames: he dyd so, & was left for dead: *ipse* (sayth S. Cyprian) *semissulatus, & lapidibus obrutus, & pro mortuo derelictus &c.* He halfe burned, couered with stones, and left for dead: whiles his daughter out of filiall duty sought his body, he was found not to be fully departed, and being taken out, and by carefull attendance somewhat refreshed, he remayned against his will after his companions, whome he had sent before him to heauen: *Sed remanendi ut videmus hac fuit causa, ut cum Clero nostro Dominus adiungeret.* But this as we see was the cause why he remayned behind, that God might make him of our Clergy, and adorne the number of our priesthood, made small by the fall of some, with glorious Priests. Thus far S. Cyprian, whose wordes are so plaine, as they need not explication: for he plainly testifyeth that he was made Priest after his wiues death, and for that cause to haue beene preserued alieue, and he sayth not as you see: *Numidicus presbyter uxorem suam concrematam &c.* *Numidicus* the Priest saw his wife burned, but only *Numidicus* saw his wife burned, & the word *Priest* is added both in the English text and Latin margent by M. Hall, and that as you see for his aduantage cleane contrary to the mind of his authour.

A foule
corrupti-
on.

13. For without that word what doth this testimony auaille him? what doth it proue? will he

hereason thus, *Numidicus* after his wife was burned was made Priest, therefore he was a married *Presbyter*, and his example proueth the marriage of all Priests to be lawfull? these extremes are too far asunder to meet in one syllogisme, and he shall neuer be able to find a *medius terminus*, that can knit them togeather: I wish that I were neere *M. Hall*, when some or other would shew him this imposture, to see what face he would make thereon, whether he would confesse his error, or persist in his folly: for I see not, but turne him which way he list, he must be condemned for a falsifyer. I know not what fatall destiny followes these men, that whatsoener they treat of in any controuersy betweene vs & them, they cannot but shew legier-du-mayne, fraud, and collusion, and yet notwithstanding pretend all candour and simplicity: for heer on the word *Priest* standeth all the force of *M. Hall*s argument, and that is foylited in by himselfe, & not to be found conioyned with the wordes he cyteth in *S. Cyprian*.

Protestants
neuer
write a-
gainst Ca-
tholikes,
but they
corrupt
Authors.

14. If *M. Hall* say, which is all he can say, that in the beginning of the epistle *S. Cyprian* hath these wordes: *Numidicus presbyter ascribatur presbyterorum Carthagenensium numero, & nobiscum sedeat in Clero &c.* Let *Numidicus* the Priest be numbred amongst the Priests of *Carthage*, and let him sit with vs in the Clergy: & then goeth on with the description of his merits, of the courage he shewed in seeing his wife dye &c. this plaister cannot salue the soare: for this epistle *S. Cyprian* wrote after he had ordered him Priest, and his ordination, as there he declareth, and you haue
now

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 now heard, was after his wiues death: *Numidi-*
cus himselte giuing by his rare constancy, & his
 so resolutely offering himselte to dy for Christ,
 occasion of his promotion, yea of further pre-
 ferment: for in the end of the same letter, *S. Cy-*
rian sayth, that at his retorne to *Carthage*, he
 meant to make him Bishop, as *Pamelius* doth
 rightly interpret him. So as there is no euasion
 left for *M. Hall* to escape.

The fact
 of Paph-
 nutius in
 the Nicen
 Councell
 is discus-
 sed.

Answered
 by Bellar-
 mine l. 2.
 de Clericis
 cap. 20. §.
 argumen-
 tum 5. &
 ultimum.

15. I haue purposely transposed the fact of
Paphnutius in the Councell of *Neece*, the authority
 whereot although it be more ancient then *S.*
Athanasius, who therein albeit present, was not
 Bishop, but Deacon, yet are the Authors who
 recount the same much more moderne, and all
 the credit lying on their relation, no writer
 more ancient so much as mentioning any such
 matter, the Councell if selfe disclayming from
 it, & these Authors in other things being found
 vsincere & fabulous, I thought it not worth
 the answering; but seeing that *M. Hall* notwith-
 standing he saw it fully answered in *Bellarmino*,
 and others, will needs bring it in againe, as
 though nothing had euer beene sayd thereunto,
 and out of his wonted folly and vanity insert
 heere and there his Greeke words, which haue
 no more force and emphasis then the English,
 with this conclusion in the end: *His arguments*
wone assent, he spake and preuailed, so this liberty was still
continued and confirmed I will briefly deliuer what
 hath beene answered thereunto, if first I shew
 what legier-du-maine is vted by this Epistler in
 setting it down with aduantage to make it serue
 his purpose the better.

16. For

16. For whereas *Socrates* recounteth the fact of *Paphnutius* in a particular matter touching the wiues of such Priests only, as were ordered when they were marryed men, whether such should be debarred from their wiues & bound to continency as the rest, this man from the particular draweth it vnto the generall, & from only marryed Priests, to all Priests whatsoever. When the Fathers of the *Nicen* Councell (sayth *M. Hall*) went about to enact a law of continency, *Socrates* the historian expreſſeth it thus: It seemeth good, sayth he to the Bishops, to bring in a new law into the Church: it was then new, & they but would haue brought it in: therefore before it was not. So he. But I must pull him backe by the sleeve, and before we go further aske him what this new law was, that is heere mentioned? of what subiect? was it in generall for the continency of all Clergy men, which is the argument of this his letter? so it should seeme: for so without any restriction he reports it, and makes *Paphnutius* to withstand the same: when as his Author in this very chapter hath the quite contrary, and only speaketh of such as in the state of wedlocke were ordered, excluding in plaine termes the other from all marriage, and that according to the ancient tradition of the Church.

Socrates l.
1. cap. 8.
S 7om. 1.
1. cap. 22.

M. Hall
vnſincere
setting
down the
narration
of *Socrates*.

17. And this *M. Hall* could not but see; seeing after the words he citeth v. *It seemeth good to the Bishop to bring in a new Law into the Church*, it followeth immediatly: *ut qui essent sacris initiati, sicut Episcopi, Presbyteri, & Diaconi cum vxoribus quas cum erant laici, in matrimonium duxissent, minime dormirent.*

It was neuer lawfull for Priests after their ordinatio to marry. *ment*. That such as were in holy orders, as Bishops, Priests, and Deacons should not company with their wiues, which they had married before, when they were lay men. So he. Which words euince the cōtinency he speake of only to be in this particuler case, and not of all continency, as heere he is made to speake, which yet is more cleare in the same chapter, where he expressly denyeth that such as tooke holy orders in single life (which as we haue shewed out of S. Hierome, and S. Epiphanius must needs be the greater part) may marry at all: *Vt qui in Clerum* (sayth he) *ante adscripti erant quàm duxissent uxores, hisecundum veterem Ecclesia traditionem deinceps à nuptijs abstinere*. That such as were made of the Clergy before they had married wiues, should according to the ancient tradition of the Church abstayne from marriage. So *Socrates*, and we see that besides the aspersiō and touch of falshood, without which this man deliuers nothing, that the authority cited, reacheth not halfe way home, for prooffe of that wherefore it is brought although all were granted which this Author reporteth.

18. Yea further this testimony, duly weighed maketh more for vs then our Aduersaryes: for if we make this first proposition out of *Socrates*, no Clergy man after his orders taken can marry: and then out of S. Hierome, and S. Epiphanius add this other, but in the Churches of *Greece*, *Aegypt*, and *Rome* all Bishops, Priests, Deacons, were chosen virgins, or widowers, or after their priesthood for euer continent; the conclusion will follow that for the most part, as I sayd

sayd, euen according to the ancient tradition of the Church, the Clergy consisted of single men, and the other married who laymed their wives after their ordination in respect of them, to haue beene very few, which yet is more plaine by S. Epiphanius, who speaking of such as were made Priests, saying: *Sanctum Sacerdotium ex virginibus quidem ut plurimum procedens, si vero non ex virginibus, at ex solitariam vitam agentibus: si vero hi non successerint ad ministerium, hi qui continent a propriis uxoribus accipiuntur.* Holy priesthood for the most part proceeding of Virgins, or if not virgins, yet of such as liue a solitary or single life, or if these suffice not for the Ministry, let those be taken who liue continent from their owne wives. So he. And this alone abundantly sheweth in what ranke and number married men were in the Clergy.

Mark
this M.
Hall.

19. And all this haue I sayd as supposing the truth of that history, but there want not more then seeming coniectures to disproue this narration, and to shew it to be false, whereof that may passe for the first, which I last allcadged out of S. Hierome, and S. Epiphanius, both more ancient, more learned, and of far more credit then Socrates: for they liuing so soone after the Councell, and writing in so generall manner for the single life of Priests, and continency of such as in wedloke were ordered, without the least mention of any contrary custome, which if it had beene in vse and that vpon so famous a plea of so renowned a Saint, they could not but haue knowne, the one being a Grecian borne, and the other brought vp vnder S. Gregory Nazianzen in Greece, argueth most clearly no such

The re-
port of
Socrates
and Sozo-
men tou-
ching Pa-
phnutius
is reiecte
as fabu-
lous.

K

pleading

pleading, no such custome euer to haue beene: for had it beene so notorious as in the open Councell by so remarkable a man as S. Paphnutius, in a cause of this consequence, it could not haue beene concealed, but must needs haue byn most publique, most famous, and known to the whole world: neither could these Saints haue durst to gainsay it, and deny that to haue beene practised, which in the Councell had been condemned: & great meruaile it were it *Socrates* liuing so long after, should better know what the Nicen Councell had determined, then S. *Hierome* and S. *Epiphanius*, who liued in the same age, and that no one Author before of those tymes (although *Ruffinus* write both of that Councell and Saint) could be found to register, or at least to insinuate this counterfeit conquest left only to *Socrates* & *Sozomen* both heretikes, as many hold,

Bellar. loco citato.

(a) *Epiph.*

haeres. 70.

Ambr. l.

10. ep. 83.

Athan. de vntruthes,

synodus

Arimin.

& Seleuc.

(b) *Leo*

serm. 4. de

quadrag.

Greg. ho.

in Euang.

(c) *Aug.*

ep. 86.

218.

to be deliuered to posterity, and from them against the credit of all others to be taken vp as an vndoubted truth to M. Hall, and they by him to be made to speake far worse then they did.

20. Againe S. *Gregory* taketh *Sozomen* with *Athan.* deu[n]truthes, and sayth that in his history, *multa mentitur*, and the Reader may see (where M. Hall would not be scene) in *Bellarmino* I meane, three grosse vntruthes related by *Socrates*, euen in one chapter, and in the history of his owne tyme, as (a) that it was lawfull to keepe Easter when any one listeth, the Church hauing determined nothing therof, (b) that in Rome they fasted but 3. weekes before Easter, (c) that in Rome they vsed not to fast on the Saturdayes: all which are conuincd by S. *Athanasius*, S. *Epiphanius*, S. *Ambrose*, S. *Augustine*,

Augustine,

Augustin, S. Leo, & S. Gregory to be false: so as in this
 also of married Priests, seeing he is the first rela-
 tour, and that against the relation of others, we
 may worthily suspect him, & without the pre-
 judice of truth reject him also, vnles some other
 of more fidelity had likewise affirmed the same.

21. Moreover there are in the Councell it
 selfe two Canons, the first and the third, made
 vpon one occasion, to wit; for that *Leonius* a
 Priest the more freely to keep a yong mayd in The
 his house, had made himselfe an Eunuch, for Councell
 which he was deposed, and after became an Ar- of Neece
 rian: the Councell in the first Canon prouideth allowed
 that none vnder paine of deposition, offer vio- not mate-
 lence to his owne body, as *Leonius* had done: & riage of
 then to put the axe vnder the root of the tree, Priests;
 and remoue all occasion of whotsoever disorder Can. 1.
 hereafter in that kind, the third Canon for- Can. 3.
 biddeth all Bishops, Priests, & Deacons to haue
 any woman in their houses, vnles it be their
 mother, sister, or aunt by the Father, or such on-
 ly of whome there can be no suspicion: and
 where is the wife in this enumeration? truly if
 Priests may liue freely with their wiues, I see not
 why their wiues may not as freely haue what
 mayds they list to tend their children, and wait
 on themselfe besides their husbands, aunt, sister,
 or mother, who I thinke will not so easily be
 drawne to stoop to that attendance. Let our Bi-
 shops try, and they will find my wordes true: &
 if the Councell had allowed these wiues, why
 doth it only speake of the Priest, his mother,
 sister, aunt, and nothing of the sister, Mother,
 aunt of his wife? Doubles for no other reason;

The Protestants hauene none to a there vnto for the marriage of Priests but condemned heretiks. but for that these wiues were vnkowne, & no man then dreamed of the Protestant Heteroclinal Clergy, so dissonant from others, as it is without example, vnles it be of such whome though they shame not to follow, yet may they blush to name, *Iovinian, Vigilantius*, and other heretikes.

22. Last of all *S. Leo* the Great, liuing at the same tyme with *Socrates* & writing to the Greke Bishop *Anastasius* of *Thessalonica*, sheweth the practise then iointly to conspire with this now, and he writeth in such mauner, as if the thing were out of question, without contradiction, knowne, & acknowledged by all: for speaking of the excellency of Priesthood, he bringeth this for prooffe thereof: *Sacerdotium tam excellens est electio, vt hac quæ in alijs Ecclesie membris non vocantur ad culpam, in illis tamen habeantur illicita &c.* The calling of Priests is so eminent, that those things which in other members of the Church, are not reputed for a fault, are yet in them vnlawfull: for whereas for such as are not of the Clergy, it is free to marry and beget children, notwithstanding to shew the purity of perfect continency, carnall wedlocke is denyed vnto Subdeacons, that both those who haue wiues may be as if they had them not, & they who haue them not, may remaine single: but if this be worthy to be kept in this order, which is the fourth from the head, how much more is it to be kept in the first, second, and third, least any should be thought fit for the Leuitical ministry, or Priestly honour, or Episcopall excellency, who is discovered not yet to haue refrained from coniugall carnality? Hitherto *S. Leo*.

23. And this not only concludeth against the former Historian, the testimony being so direct, and the writer so graue, but refuteth also the other example, which M. Hall doth produce out of *Socrates*, concerning *Heliodorus* Bishop of *Trica* (deposed from his Bishopricke, as *Nicephorus* writeth for his wanton verses) and made to be the first author of single life in the Clergy of *Theffalia*, because in the same chapter he hath the other three vntruthes about rehearsed, and this may be numbred for the fourth; and we may add for the fifth his Paradoxe, when like an honest Protestant he affirmeth that fasting is free, and to be vsed only when we list our selues: so as I meruail not if he were so great a friend to wiues that so little fauoured abstinency: and all these vntruthes being found in this chapter cyted, it may well be tearmed a lying chapter, but howsoeuer, he being an Heretike and contradicted in this by *S. Hierome*, *S. Epiphanius*, *S. Leo*, and others deserueth no credit at all, or further refutation.

Many mistakes of *Socrates* in one Chapter.

24. Yet before I leaue this lying chapter I must needs adioyne one more which the same Author maketh therein, and M. Hall doth also alleadge, that al which he hath of him may passe together vnder one view: thus then he maketh him to speake concerning the practise of the East Church: *Socrates* (sayth he) thus flatly writs of those Bishops of his tyme: for many of them in the place and function of Bishops beget children of their lawfull wiues. I graunt that *Socrates* writeth the words, but with three other circumstances which M. Hall should not haue concealed,

Nicephor.
lib. 12. c. 34.

Heliodoro-
rus his
wanton
booke
entituled
Aethio-
pia.

sealed, the one that these Bishops were married before their ordination, the other that the famous Bishops and Priests did the contrary, so as these seeme to haue been some infamous obscure Bishops, and of no account among the rest: lastly that the other custome was more general in the East, especially in *Theffalia*, *Macedonia*, and *Greece*, and *Nicephorus* relating the same thing almost verbatim out of *Socrates* sayth, that this custome of deposing Priests, who after their orders taken, did againe know their wiues: *Theffalonica*, atq; in *Macedonia* & *Gracia omni seruata est*: Is obserued at *Theffalonica*, and in *Macedonia*, and in all *Greece*, though both take *Greece* for that speciall Province so properly called, & both in this doerre, which I meruaile *M. Hall* did not mention whe they auouch this chastity, although vsuall, yet to haue beene meer arbitrary, and not imposed by any law, and *Heliodorus* as I haue sayd to haue beene the first Author thereof in *Theffalia*, neither of which can stand with that which *S. Hierome*, *S. Epiphanius*, *S. Basil*, *S. Leo* and others haue written: neither is it likely that *Heliodorus*, who rather would loose his Bishopricke, then recal his lasciuious booke, would be so eager about the rest for the continency of his Clergy: and it cannot but moue laughter to see *M. Hall* rearme him in his margent, Author of the *Aethiopicke histories*, as if *Heliodorus* had written some history of *Aethiopia*, whereas he only intituled his wanton work *Aethiopia*, and wrote no more history thereof, then *Syr Phillip Sidney* did of *Arcadia*, or *Apuleius* of the *Arcadian Nightingale*, that sings so sweetly to the Harp.

25. But not to stand on this, but on the
 mayne point in question, that there was no law
 for the continency of Clergy men, especially Bi-
 shops in Greece, is clearly refuted by the Fa-
 thers alleadged, and S. Epiphanius expreilly men-
 tioneth Canons heere denied, and the continu-
 all vse and tradition of the Church might haue
 sufficed for a law, had Canons wanted, which
 yet in this behalfe are very abundant, & M.
 Halls sacred Council of Trullū doth yield vs two,
 the 10. and 48. and before that the Councell of
 Ancyra, Neocasarea, and Neece haue others as I shal
 afterwards shew, and as these manyfold autho-
 rityes do much ouerweigh the single credit of
 Socrates, so the notable case which hapned in his
 tyme doth cleerely conclude the prohibition
 mentioned to haue had a largē extent, then
 Thessalia, Macedonia, or Helladian Greece: for thus it
 hapned. Synesius a famous Philosopher being
 made a Christian, and soone after chosen by the
 Clergy, and sought for by the people to be made
 their Bishop, Theophilus then Patriarke of Alexan-
 dria approving the election, went about to or-
 deyne him Bishop of Ptolemais, which the other
 refused in so vehement manner, as that, *omni ar-
 te & robore*, by all art and force he laboured to
 withstand the ordination, saying that he did ra-
 ther desire to dye, then to be made Bishop, and
 that on his knees he had prayed for that ex-
 change, I meane of his Bishopricke with death,
 to which end he vsed all the sleights, excuses,
 stratagems that he could deuise (as S. Ambrose did
 vpon the like occasion at Millane) to diuert Theo-
 philus Patriarke of Alexandria from approving his
 election,

Epiphanius
 baptes. 59.

Concil.
 Trullan.
 Can. 10.
 & 48.

Nicephor.
 l. 14. c. 33.

A notable
 example
 of Synesi-
 us Bishop
 of Ptole-
 mais.

Synesius. ep.
 11. & 37.

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election, or proceeding further to his ordination: but what thinke you did he object.

26. Truly many excuses he made, and some of them vnttrue: for he not only pretended that he was a new Christian, not yet fully instructed in the doctrine of his beliefe, but further that as yet he believed not the resurrection of the flesh, and other points taught, professed, and acknowledged by all Christians, that his other studyes, & incombrances would not permit them to be Bishop, that his want of health and disposition of mynd made him altogether vnfit for that calling, & the like: but most of all he vrged the matter of his marriage, as the proper & speciall meanes of his hinderance or deliuerance rather from that burthen, & the manner of his vrging well sheweth the cleer impossibility he conceaued to be betweene the one & the other state: for in this earnest manner doth he deliuer the same: *Mihi & Deus ipse* (sayth he) *& leges, ipsaq; sacra Theophili manus vxorem dedit &c.* Both God himselfe, and the lawes, and the holy hand of *Theophilus* hath giuen me a wife: wherefore I fortell all men, and will haue it recorded, that I will not forsake her, neither as an adulterer will I secretly know her; for the one (to wit to leaue her) stands not with piety; the other (to know her after his Episcopall ordination) is not lawfull: but I will and desire rather to haue many honest children borne of her, and of this the Author and chiefe dealer in this election ought not to be ignorant: let our friends *Paulus* and *Dionysius* whome I vnderstand to be chosen by the people for Embassadors in this matter know
so

Synes. ad
Euophilum
ep 105.
See Baron.
anno
410.

Synesius
very vn-
willing to
be Bishop.

Loco cita-
to.

so much. So *Synesi*, and how can this plea made by so famous a man vpon this occasion at the very tyme when *Socrates* liued, and that euen in Greece, stand with the arbitrary chastity heere surmized? How can it be that there was no law, nor Canon of the continent life of Bishops, and yet that this renowned Philosopher, and most learned man should vrge his marriage, and the not dissolution thereof as an essentiall impediment vtterly vnabling him to be Bishop? and the thing it selfe to be vnlawfull in one of that calling?

27. And in case the matter had beene, as *Socrates* in that lying chapter doth relate it, then had the folly, or rather stupidity of this reason beene very singular, which will the better appeare if we apply it to some domestical example of our English Superintendents, among whome that is taught for true doctrine, which *Socrates* heere deliuereth, and these lewd Bishops (if there were any such) are sayd to haue practised: and to single out one amongst many to exemplify in, let vs suppose that M. *Iohn King*, now by an Equiuocall title surnamed of *London*, had beene vnwilling to be made Bishop, and to hinder his election should haue exhibited to his Metropolitan of *Canterbury* a memorial concerning the reasons of his refusall, and among the rest he should haue stood stiffe on this point, that forsooth he was a marryed man, that he meant not to leaue his wife, that he intended to haue more children by her, and that it importeth much that M. *Abbots* should not be ignorant of this his resolution, least perhaps he should vnaduisedly by making

Socrates
proued to
be vn-
sin-
cere.

M. King
with my
Lady his
wife of
London.

154 *An Answer to M. Halls Apology*,
him Bishop, go about to separate the poore effe-
minate man from his wiues company, whome
he would in no case (for that he loued her much
better then his Bishopricke) forsake,

—— *Spectatum admissum teneatis amici?*

Could any forbear laughing to heare this ridicu-
lous reason, that seeth to many married Bishops
in the land, and no prohibition to the contrary?
Whereas therefore *Synesius* so eagerly vrged this
point, and our aduertaryes are ashamed to men-
tion it, we may wel discover a presupposed pro-
hibition to haue been extant, & that *Socrates*, at-
tent only to the matters of *Constantinople*, where he
was borne, and brought vp, either to haue been
very ignorant of the customes of other places,
if not also of his owne city, where in all the
row of these Patriarkes this could not be speci-
fied by any one example, or els, as a *Novatian* he-
reticke, for which *Nicephorus* taxeth him, out of
the knowne lasciuious spirit of such men, to
haue dissembled, and willfully contradicted
the truth.

Lib. 5. c. 23.

Nicephor.
lib. 6. c. ult.

28. And these being all the testimonyes,
that *M. Hall* bringeth for the first foure hundred
yeares, and all wide of the marke, whiles we ex-
pect that he should according to promise follow
the tymes and shew in all ages succeeding the
marriage of Priests to haue bene lawful, he ma-
keth a foule skip from *Origen*, *S. Cyprian*, *S. Atha-
nasius*, and the *Nicen* Councell, vnto *Gratian* the
Canonist, & leapeth ouer well neere eight hun-
dred yeares together, though after leauing three
or foure hundred yeares vntouched, he recoile a
little backe to the *Trullan* Councell, *S. Vdalricke*,
and

and others, but with what effect we shall after see: and in this place instead of the testimonies of writers, he brings vs in an idle bedrole of names, to wit, of such Bishops as had beene once married, which being all graunted as they lye, proue nothing against vs, because he sheweth not that then they vsed their wiues, when they were Bishops, which is our controuersy, and we both say and proue that for euer they were divorced from them, and liued in perpetuall continency apart: this M. Hall should infringe, and not produce some few married Bishops of the Primitiue Church, few in number, and ordered for the most part after the death of their wiues; or if before, yet were these Bishops dead to them because touching al coniugal duties they ceased to be their husbands.

29. And this was so knowne, so confessed, so vncontrolled a truth, that the first enemy and impugner of Clericall continency, could not deny it, and therefore S. Hierome boldly sayd vnto him (Iouinian I meane) *Certe confiteris non posse esse Episcopum, qui in Episcopatu filios faciat, alioquin si deprehensus fuerit, non quasi vir tenebitur, sed quasi adulter damnabitur.* Doubtes thou dost confesse that he cannot be a Bishop who begets children in that state: for if he be taken in the manner, he shall not be reputed as a husband, but condemned for an adulterer. So S. Hierome, and so plainly as you see he pleadeth for vs, that his wordes refuse all commentary, and refute M. Halls contradiction and practise. S. Basil writing to one Peragorius an old Priest rebuketh him sharply for taking his *Presbiteram*, she-priest, or wife into his house

M. Hall mistaketh the state of the question and in saying much proueth nothing.

Hier. l. x. in Iouin.

Paro. tom. 1. ann. 58. Basil. ep. 17 in addit.

house, vpon perswasion that his great age would take away all suspition of incontinency, and threatens excommunication, vnles forthwith he dismissed her, vrging the obseruance of the *Nissen Canon*: and if this were not permitted vnto a Priest, much lesse vnto a Bishop.

30. But what need we stand vpon threats, where exampls are not wating of sharp punish-

The pen- nance which Vrbicus Bishop of Claramōt did for knowing his wife after that he was made Bishop.

ments inflicted on Bishops, either by themselves or others for transgressed continency, and that euen with their wiues: of either kind I will allcadge one, & for the former of a Bishop, who liued with *S. Basil*, or soone after called *Vrbicus*. The story is related by *Gregorius Turonensis*, who writeth how this man of a Senatour before was made of the Cleargy, and after the death of *Stramonius* (whome he succeeded) Bishop of *Claramont*, his wife all this while being aliue, but after the Canonickall custome separated from him:

Vxorem habens (sayth the Author) *qua iuxta consuetudinem Ecclesiasticam remota à consortio sacerdotis religiosè vivebat*: Hauing a wife which according to the Ecclesiasticall custome religiously liued apart from the company of the Priest: whome as the weaker vessel the Diuel tempting to returne to her husband againe, so far preuailed, as she also tempted the Bishop, but not without a Text of Scripture of the Diuels prompting, *reuerimini ad alterutrum ne tentet vos Satanas*: returne to each other, least Sathan tempt you, and with often & importunate recourse, made him relēt from that Ecclesiasticall vigour, which should haue beene in one of his ranke and calling, and yield to her desire. But what? did he thinke it lawfull? did he

plead

Greg. Turonens. l. i.
Histor.
Fran. cap.
44.

plead M. Hall's impossibility necessity? or the posse & nosse of the old Germans? No such matter: But *ad se reuersus, & de perpetrato scelere condonens, acturus poenitentiam* Diccas his sua Monasterium expetit, ibiq; cum gemitu & lachrimis qua commiserat diluens ad urbem propriam est reuersus: Entering into himselfe and repenting for the wicked fact he had done, went to a Monastery of his diocesse to do pennance, and there with sighs and teares blotting out the offences he had committed, returned to his owne towne. So this Author.

31. And in this one example two things are very remarkable, and cleerly conclude for vs in this behalfe: first that the Ecclesiasticall custome was, that when any was made Bishop if he were a married man, his wife was to liue apart from him: and secondly that both were bound to keep perpetuall chastity, and neuer to claime any more matrimoniall duties one of the other: and this later is gathered by necessary and inuitable deduction: for els why doth he call it a wicked fact? why did he do pennance for it? if no prohibition entred, no sinne was committed, they remayning lawfull wife and husband as before: which example alone is so hard a bone for M. Hall to gnaw vpon, as he shall neuer be able to rid himselfe handsomely thereof, & being so ancient, sheweth what wiues the Bishops had and what liberty in vsing them was allowed in those dayes: if our Superintendents and Ministers of England had no more, this controuersy had neuer byn raised, but then were other times, other lawes, other Bishops, other believe.

Ecclesiasticall men liued apart from their wiues & vowed chastity.

32. And least M. Hall obiekt that this pennance

A notable example of the penance Canonically imposed on Genebaldus, for knowing his wife after that he was made Bishop of Laudun. nance was voluntary, and proceeded of the too much scrupulosity of this Prelate: let vs see another wherein by Canonical sentence and iudiciall severity it was inioyned: *Genebaldus* Bishop of *Laudune*, as *Hinckmarus* Archbishop of *Rhemes* in the life of *S. Remigius* reporteth, being married vnto the Neece of the sayd Saint, betaking himselfe to a religious life left her to whome he was marryed, and not long after was made Bishop of *Laudune*, and consecrated by *S. Remigius* himselfe, but by the frequent recourse of his wife to him, was tempted in the end, yielded, and knew her carnally againe, whome for the attaining of spirituall perfection he had forsaken: but Gods calls were not wanting to reclaime him, nor he to Gods calls to returne backe from his error, wherefore sending for *S. Remigius*, casting himselfe at his feet, with many tears deplored his offence, and that with such vehemency, as he was checked for his so deep distrust, which seemed to draw to despaire, or to diminish that confidence which all sinners though neuer so great ought to haue in the abundant mercy of our most louing Redeemer, if they be truly repentant.

33. Notwithstanding this his griefe so excessive, yet did this his Metropolitan put him to seuerer penance, made him a little lodg to lye in, with a bed in manner of a sepulcher, with very narrow winddowes, a little Oratory or praying place, and therein shut him vp, sealing fast the dore for seauen years together, in which obscure den he did lead a most strict & penitentiall life: in so much as the same Author who is both

S. Remigius dyed
anno 545.

both graue and ancient relation, that at the end of the leauenth yeare, when on the Wednesdai in the holy week before Easter, he had warched all the night in Prayer, and with tears bewailed his offence, he was comforted by an Angell, and aduertised that his prayers were heard, his penance was accepted, and the sinne forgiven, & so was deliuered from that prison, and restored againe to his Bishopricke, liuing al the residew of his life, as the Author sayth, *in sanctitate & iustitia*, in holynes and vertue, alwayes preaching the mercyes of God, which to himselfe in such abundant measure had bene shewed.

34. What thinke you of this *M. Hall*? Was it free in these tymes for Bishops to vse their wiues as you pretend? If in these dayes had byn found a lasciuious *Crāmer* with his Dutch Fraw, whome when he had vsed for his harlot awhile in his old age, after for his comfort (poore man) he must needs marry being then Archbishop of *Canterbury* and Primate of *England*, or els (not to rake further into the infamous ashes of our first parents) as *Thorneborough* of *Bristow*, with two wiues at once, what think you would they haue sayd? what penance would they haue enioyned? with what vigour and rigour also would they haue chastized such Ministers, or rather monsters of the Clergy? And truly these two examples being so directly against the vse of wiues, and *M. Hall* being not able to bring one to the contrary, wherein it was allowed as lawfull for any Bishop or Priest after holy Orders taken to haue any, let the Reader iudge which doctrine and practise best agreeth, or disagreeeth most,

with

*Sanderus
l. x. de Scis.
mas. Ang.*

with the former tymes, and purer ages (as our Aduerlaries sometymes will cal them of the first six hundred yeares) ours or theirs: for heer you haue nothing brought for them, but that some Bishops had beene marryed men, others made Bishops in that state, which is not denyed: but that then they might vse their wiues *M. Hall* pro- uerh not, and these examples do euince that they did not, which point out of diuers Councells, we shall a little after further declare.

Many
grosse mi-
stakings.

35. And for the catalogue he heere maketh of marryed Bishops, it hath no more truth, and sincerity in it, then the rest: for besides that he citeth Authors at randome as *Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 29.* when as there be there but 26. chapters, and for things which are not to be found in him, which I passe ouer as petty faults, besides this I say to increase the number of his Bishops, he maketh *S. Basils* Father a Bishop, who was neuer such, and further sayth the same of *Gabinus* brother of *Eutichianus*, Bishop (sayth he) of *Rome*, whereas *Gabinus* was neither brother of *Eutichianns*, nor Bishop of *Rome*, or of any place els: but hauing beene once marryed, and by his wife hauing had one daughter, to wit *S. Susanna* the virgin and Martyr, after the death of his sayd wife was made Priest, and in the persecution of *Diocletian*, the same yeare with *Caius* the Pope his brother, but not the same day, was also martyred. So as heere is nothing but mistaking, and whether I will or not, I see *M. Hall* must haue a sentence of *Diuorce* giuen against him out of the Court of *Archies*, for pleading no better for the marriage of Clergy men, which he promised in the begin-
ning

ning either to free, or els to vndergoe the law, there is no remedy I say; if iustice preuaile, but that he must part from his wife, or which I sooner thinke he will do; must breake his promise with M. VVhiting: for hitherto besides vntruths, abusing of Authours, mistaking the question & other impertinencies nothing hath byn brought to free this matter.

36. Now if as I haue shewed the practise of the Primitive Church, so I would also set downe particuler testimonies of al the Fathers, ^{Bellar. 1. 1 - de Cler. cap. 19. Coccius tom. 2. Thesour 1. 8. art. 6.} both Greeke and Latin. I should ouerwhelme him with multitude; I will remit him only to the places cyted in the margent, where he shall find store, and that so great, as M. Iewell confesseth in this cause our aduantage notorious, say-
ing: Heere I graunt M. Harding is like to find some good aduantage, as hauing vndoubtedly a great number of Iewel Fathers on his side. So he. But my intention is to disproue only what M. Hall doth bring, and not to vrge against him: to answer I meane, & not to dispute: wherefore he hauing spent all the small store of his authorities, as little boyes who when they haue in play lost their money will stake their points, and when all his gone fall to play at picke straw: euen so this man after the Fathers words, after the examples of their practise, in which both as you see he is foyled, and hath lost all, he commeth now to play at pick-straw indeed, & to vrge the palea, or chaff which is in Gratian, as though it were good corne, and out of that will proue, that as one man begets another, so Popes to haue begotten other Popes, who succeeded them in the Episcopall See: and
L albeit

Harding in his de-
fection fol. 237.
futed for a fable by D. *Harding*, as it might haue
ashamed any man euer to haue mentioned it a-
ny more, yet seeing it is againe brought on the
stage, let vs see a little what it is. Thus M. *Hall*
deliueres it.

Many vn-
truths in
one passa-
ge.
37. To omit others (sayth he) what should
I speake of many Bishops of *Rome*, whose sonnes
not spurious as now a dayes, but as *Gratian* him-
selfe witnesseth lawfully begot in wedlocke, fol-
lowed their Fathers in the Pontificall Chayre?
the reason whereof that Author himselfe inge-
nuously rendreth: for that marriage was euery
where lawfull to the Clergy before the prohibi-
tion (which must needs be late) and in the Ea-
sterne Church to this day is allowed. What need
we more testimonies, or more examples? So M.
Hall. In which wordes that is the first vntruth,
that *Gratian* himselfe witnesseth these to haue byn
lawfully begotten in wedlocke: for he witnes-
seth no such matter: the witness for this thing is
the *Palea*, or *Chasse*, the Author whereof is diffe-
rent from *Gratian*, and a more moderne writer,
as *Baronius* truly auoucheth, and so his credit the
lesse, and in this particuler fancy nothing at all,
as now we shall see.

Baronius
in anno
1551. in
fine.

An iniu-
rious ca-
lumnia-
tion.

38. The second, that the sonnes of Popes now
adaye are spurious, which with the lye conteynes
an iniurious slander: for what sonnes doth this
man know of Popes of our dayes? I feare me in
our dayes, these men will change our old Gram-
mer, and make *mentiri* of a Deponent to become
a verbe Common: for no man can passe the im-
pure tonges and lying lips of these men without
misre-

misreporting or villany. We know what *Nicetas* ^{Nicetas the} writeth: *Nihil ita capit animos inuidia edicq; imbutos* ^{vitalignat.} *quàm sinistra de eo quem oderis narratio.* Nothing so ^{Constant} much draweth the minds of such as are possessed with enuy and hatred, as a false report of him whome you hate: and so knowing M. Hall your hatred, we wonderlesse at this slanderous and shameles reproach: yea following the rule of S. Bernard, we draw from your wicked wordes flowing out of the malignant rancour which aboundeth in your hart, the contrary perswasio to that which you pretend: for as he very truly obserueth: *Non potest bonus non esse qui bonis placet, nec minus validum argumentum mihi videtur quod bonus sit,* ^{Bernard.} *finalis è regione despliceat.* He cannot but be good, ^{epist. 248.} who contenteth the good, and it is with me no lesse forcible an argument, that he is likewise good, if on the other side he displease those who be bad. So S. Bernard. Wherefore when you charge Popes with incontinency, all Priests with treasons, & the like, we find that good men loue them the better for your hatred, and in many things we say of you and yours, as S. Augustin of Herod in respect of the infants he slew in and about Bethleem: *Plus profuit odio, quàm profuisset obsequio:* He did them more good by his hatred then he could haue done by his fauour: so in the later accounting day, these ranke breaths patiently endured, will not want their euer enduring rewards, as he hath promised who cannot deceaue vs, and your persecutions in the end will crown the sufferers with the stole of immortality.

39. And by this occasion to speake of this present Pope *Paulus* the fifth, and that not for re-

The singular continency of this present Pope.

ceased courtesies (for I neuer in respect of my selfe haue had farthing of him) or expected hopes (for I pretend nothing) much lesse for flattery, (which I abhorre, and where I neuer seeke to be beholding, why should I flatter) but only and meerey for truth, and loue of the vertue of purity which I admire, & which in all the course of his life hath bene in him most resplendent: We see Princes faults to be more conspicuous then other mens, by reason of their place, whereby they are made the cōtinual opiect of curious eyes, and ordinary subiect of licentious tongues, because men soone eiepy & easily speak of what Princes do: but such is the integrity of this worthy Pastour, and hath euer bene in the whole course of his life, as euen those who yet in other things little affect him, neuer speake but with admiration of his chastity, which none more commend then those who most know the man, and my selfe haue heard diuers meruaile at the vniforme, constant, & singular opinion which all men haue of his purity of life, and how that euen from his infancy, he neuer hath yet had the least stayne or touch of contrary imputation, & therefore this malicious aspersiō might well haue bene spared of *spurious sonnes of the Bishops of Rome in these dayes*, which only concerneth your Superintendents of England, of whose impurity we want not certayne records, which vpon these iniurious slanders, we may perhaps be moued to set forth, which els euen for very shame, and credit of our nation, we could haue bene contented to conceale.

40. The third vnt ruth, and that a very grosse

grosse one is, that many Bishops of Rome lawfully begot in wedlocke followed their Fathers in the Pontificall chayre.

For in this Chasse in Gratian we find but one named, & that in these words: *Siluerius Papa filius Siluerij p[re]s[bi]teri p[re]s[bi]t[er]i Romæ* Siluerius the Pope son of Siluerius the Bishop of Rome: & how then doth this man tell vs out of Gratian of many Bishops of Rome following their Fathers in the Pontificall chayre? What Hyperbolicall manner of speech is this to make one only man, and his sonne to be many fathers and many sonnes? doth this man heed what he writeth? Nothing lesse: for such is his stupidity, as looking with bleare eyes, he not only taketh one man for many, but is mistaken also in that very one, and thinketh that to be which is not all: for who euer heard of a second *Siluerius* Pope of Rome? What record, or mention is there thereof? Truly non at all: & suppose there had beene, yet would it not haue followed, I trow, that he had begot that child whiles he was either Pope, or Priest, which as I must often tell him is our only question.

Anotoriouslye.

41. And the weaknes of this citation would haue appeared the better, if M. H. had but acknowledged the Canon it selfe, and the first Pope named in that Catalogue, which had been inough to haue shamed all: for thus it begins *Osius Papa fuit filius Stephani Subdiaconi*, *Osius* the Pope was son M. Halls of *Steu*en the *Subdeacon*. But who euer heard of a Pope *Osius*? let M. Hall read ouer all the row of Popes from S. Peter to Paul who now siteth in the chayre, and he shall find no such name, and his Father seemeth to be some *indivuduum vagum*, *Steu*en a *Subdeacon* in theayre: for of what place, or

strange
Steu
the Sub-
deacon.

166 *An Answer to M. Halles Apology,*
 whose *Subdeacon* he was, he sayth nothing: and it
 should seem this *Subdeacon Steuen* was a very cha-
 ritable man, a friend to orphans, and father of
 the fatherles: for *Deusdedit* the Pope wanting as
 is should seeme a Father, this *Steuen* steppeth in
 againe, and standeth for his Father also. Doubt-
 les he was husband to Pope *Ioan*, that could be-
 get Popes so fast, and I with that when any of
 your frinds (*M. Hall*) print that fable againe, to
 put downe this particuler, which will much
 grace the whole tale, and you may if you list the
 better to please fooles, follow your Father *Fox* in
 giuing her a picture betweene her two sonnes
 Popes, *Osus*, & *Deusdedit*: but to leaue these toys,
 and to end this matter.

M. Halles
 Chaffe
 of small
 memory.

42. Only the Reader must further note, that
 this *Palea* to make vp a full number, being as it
 seemeth of a short memory telleth the same men
 ouer twice: for so he dealeth with *Felix*, whom
 he putteth in the third place, who is brought in
 againe vnder the name of *Felix* the third, which
 addition of number might haue beene put as
 well in the first place, because the thing only a-
 greeth vnto the third *Felix*, and none of the rest:
 for the Father of the first was *Constantius*, of the
 second *Anastasiu*: and likewise *Agapius* named in
 the fourth place, is numbred and named againe
 in the last to make vp the score: and the Father
 of *Gelasius* the first of that name made Bishop of
 a lay man, such graue Authors doth *M. Hall* pro-
 duce against vs: and supposing all were true, yea
 and that they had been many, yet he might haue
 had the answer vnto them all, where he bor-
 rowed the obiection: for the glosse explicateth the

the Text saying: *Omnia ista exempla intellige de y*
&c. Vnderstand al these examples, of them, who
 were borne of their parents being in the state of
 lay men, or the lesser Orders, when they might
 lawfully vse their wiues. And what is this to
 M. Halls purpose? what doth this proue against
 vs?

43. You will say that this Author ingenu-
 ouly as M. Hall sayth, doth render a reason heer-
 of, because that marriage was euery where lawfull to the
 Clergy before the prohibition (which must needs be late)
 and in the Easterne Church to this day is allowed: and I
 answere that the gloss as ingenuously altoget-
 her, & much more truly reiecteth this opinion
 with an, *id verò minime ita esse*: there was no such
 matter, & in another distinctiō excuseth Gratian
 as taking the word Priest in a larger significatiō,
 as including all in holy Orders, and meaning
 therby Subdeacons only and not Priests, which
 acception is familiar with Canon Lawyers, &
 founded euen in the Canon it selfe, where it is
 sayd: *Si quispiam Sacerdotum, id est Presbyter, Dia-*
conus, vel Subdiaconus &c. If any of the Priests, that is
 to say a Priest, Deacon, or Subdeacon &c. in
 which sense we may graunt that the tyme was
 when some who were marryed were made Sub-
 deacons, which is further confirmed because in
 another distinctiō before, Gratian putting down
 the title: *Nondum erat institutum vt Sacerdotes conti-*
nentiam seruarent: It was not yet ordeyned that
 Priests should conteyne from their wiues, he
 presently cyteth a place of S. Gregory, touching
 Subdeacons, of which we shall speake in the
 next Paragraphe.

The name
 of Priest
 extended
 by Canon
 lawyers
 to all that
 are in ho-
 ly orders.

Dist. 31.
 in iur. can. r.
 q. 1. Si quis
 piam. in
 gloss. dist.
 33. cap. 1.
 dist. 81. c.
 si quispiam
 Dist. 31.
 Greg. l. 1.
 epist. 42.

Bellar. l. de script. Eccl. in Gratian. Baron. in annis 341. 774. 865. 876 964. Possuin. in appa- tu s. de Gratiano et sciendū est eum fuisse errasse &c.

44. But whatsoeuer he meant we are not bound to follow him as an infallible wryter, but may with free liberty reiect, whome so many graue Writers vpon diuers occasions haue so sharply censured: that he gathered so many laws, decrees, & Canons together, argueth great learning, great labour, in so large a matter & cō used heape of different authorities to be mistaken is no meruaile: wherein he did wel we prayse him, where otherwise we pittie the errours, but follow them not: if therefore he were of opinion as is wordes seeme to sound, that Priests were first permitted to marry, and were after restayned from that liberty, we follow the glosse & not the Text, because al Authours of credit mainteyne the contrary: and as for the commentary of M. Hall, that *this prohibition must needs be very late*, I must needs tell him that it is another vntruth, & that also refuted by Gratian himseife throughout all his 31. *Distinction*, which falsity because I shall touch after againe in due place, I heere forbear further to stand vpon, and from Gratian come to the mayne bulwarke and fortresse of M. Halls defence: I meane the sixth Councell, as he calls it of *Constantinople*, in answering of which because he relyeth so much thereon, I will be more particuler.

The authority of the Iulian Synod cyted and most insisted in by M. Hall at large refuted.

45. And for that M. Hall in vrging this Councell is no lesse eager in charging vs, then resolute in affirming, that marriage of al Clergy men to be decreed therein, and the testimony not to be lyable to any exception, as of a generall Councell as he stileth it, I will first touch the authority of this Councell, then what he sayth for himseife

himselfe against vs out of the same, and last of all what as well by generall as prouincial Councils hath beene defined against the marriage of Clergy men, by which I hope it shall appeare what little cause there was of triumph before the conquest, & how much our poore aduersaries make of a little, who like petty Pedlars lay open their pynnes and poynts, obtruding copper for gold, and peeces of glasse for pretious stones.

46. This Councell then heere cyted, is not ^{See Baron} the sixth Councell, which made no Canons at ^{in ann.} al, but another Conuenticle made some ten years after the sixth was ended, & that at the procurement of *Iustinian* the yonger, none of the best Emperours, God wot, who calling together certaine Greeke Bithops, made them sit in a place of his pallace called *Trullū*, because it was made round and vaulted, and there to gather Canons out of the fift and sixth Synodes, which indeed they pretended to do, but with many erroneous additions of their own, and because it made the collection out of these two Councils it was called *Quinisextum*, as much to say as of the fift and sixth: the chiefe suggester of this seditious meeting was *Callinicus* Patriarke of *Constantinople*, and that for extreme hatred of the Westerne Church, by which we see, which in many historyes we obserue, that it is easy for a Prince who intendeth to be naught, to find some one or other Clergy man of the same disposition to second him. *Iustinian* had his *Callinicus*, the fourth *Henry* Emperour his *Benno*, and our King *Henry* the 8. his *Crammer*, and others the like.

47. And further we see all the circumstances

The Tru-
lan Synod
no lawfull
Council
but a sedi-
tious con-
spiracy.

ces occurring in this Council, to demonstrate it rather to haue beene a seditious conspiracy then any lawfull sinod: for it had no forme of a Council, no legats of the Pope, no inuiting of the Latin Bishops, no authority but imperiall, no lawfull conuocation, and in fine did out of arrogant presumption that which appertayned not vnto it to do: for if in the Council of *Chalcedon* after the last session was ended, when presently *Anatolius* to further the better without contradiction his ambitious claime ouer the other Patriarches (the Patriarch of *Alexandria* *Dioscorus* who should haue withstood him being then newly deposed) gathered the Greeke Bishops to make another Decree, the same, as not done in Council, was annulled: what is to be thought of this meeting, when not one day, but ten yeares after a general Council was ended, these men who were but one part, and that the least and lesse sincere, without calling the rest, or being lawfully called themselves, layd hands on two generall Councils at once, cut out Canons, chopped, changed, added and altered at their pleasures?

*Anastasi-
us Biblio-
thecarius.*

48. And how generall this Council was and how generally accepted euen in the Greeke Church where it was held, *Anastasius Bibliothecarius* will testify in his dedicatory epistle vnto *Iohn* the eight before the seauenth Council which he translated into Latin, where after he had sayd that all these Canons were vnkowne in the Latin Church, he addeth: *Sed nec in cæterarum Patriarchalium sedium (licet Græca plantur lingua) reperiuntur archiuis &c.* Nor yet are they found in the treasuries, or places where publike charters or records

records are kept of the other Patriarchall Seas : The
because none of these Patriarks did promulgate, Trullan
consent, or was present when they were set forth, Synod
notwithstanding the Grecians report those pa- not ad-
triarches to haue promulgated them, but this mitted by
they cannot proue by any certayne arguments. the other
So *Anastasiu*. So as the credit and authority of Patriarks.

49. And this is further euicted by two graue
Authors of that age, whercof one, to wit *Vene-
rable Bede* was then liuing, and *Paulus Diaconus* the
other, not long after, who both write of it as of It was pre-
a scismaticall and no true Councell, and that sently co-
Sergius the Pope condemned it, for which cause demned
the turious Emperour sent *Zacharias* his Emba- by Pope
ladour to *Rome*, to bring the Pope prisoner to *Sergius*.
Constantinople, which had byn effected if the soul-
diers of *Rauenna* had not resisted and forced the
Embassadour not without shame, and feare also
of his life to returne backe without him : *Hic be- Bedal. de*
ata memoria Pontificem Romanæ Ecclesiæ Sergium &c. sex atas.
Iustinian the yonger (sayth *Bede*) commanded *Ser- in Iustin.*
gius Bishop of *Rome* of blessed memory, to be car- iuniora.
ryed to *Constantinople*, because he would not fa-
uour and subscribe vnto his erring Councell (*er-
ratica Synodo*) which he had caused there to be
made, sending for that purpose *Zacharias* his
chiefe captaine; but the garryson of the City of
Rauenna, and soldiers of the places adioyning, re-
iected the wicked command of the Prince, and
made

The rare
constancy
of Pope
Sergius.

made the sayd Zachary not without reproach & iniuries to recoyle. So *S. Bede*. And the same in the same words *Paulus Diaconus*; and so far was *Sergius* from approuing it, as he sayth of him that *Iustinian* in another embassage before that now recounted had sent vnto the Pope, as to the head of all Priests the sayd Councel written out in six tomes to be subscribed vnto: *Qui beatissimus Pontifex penitus eidem Iustiniano Augusto non acquiescit &c.* Which most holy Pope yielded not a iote to the Emperour *Iustinian*, neither would he vouchsafe to take or read them. Moreouer he reiected them as of no force, and cast them away, choosing rather to dye, then to yield to the errors of these noueltyes. So *Paulus Diaconus*, who also recounteth how the same Emperour taking afterwards a contrary resolution, sent two of his Metropolitans to Rome to Pope *Iohn* to confirme or correct these Canons, but neither the one or other was done.

Gods iust
revenge
vpon Iu-
stinian the
Empe-
rour and
Callini-
cus the
Patriarke.

50. In fine after much wrestling in this matter, for *Constantin* the Pope, with *Gregory* who succeeded him (then a priuate man) went to *Constantinople*, disputed, answered, refuted the errors, declared the truth, when notwithstanding the Emperour still persisted, God shewed at last which part pleased him best: for the first Author or instigatour *Callinicus* had both his eyes pulled out by the Emperours command, & was banished to Rome where he knew full well what his intertainment would be, and the Emperour himselfe hauing first lost his nose, then his Empyre, last of all lost also his life, hauing first his sonne *Tiberius* butchered, and then his own head cut

cut off by one of his rebell souldiers, and sent to Philipus his mortall enemy and successour in the Empyre: so as we see iust reuenge sooner or later ouertakes them who are to busy in laying their hands on the sacred Arke of Ecclesiasticall affayres, and out of their arrogancy will teach & direct those of whome they are themselves to be taught & directed: for in matters of this nature Bishops or Pastours haue alwayes taught Kings, and no Christian Kings in the Primitiue Church haue prescribed vnto Bishops, vnles such alone as with their scepters haue violently ouerswayde all reason and Religion togeather.

51. This is the true narration of this bastard Councell, which of purpose I haue exactly promised, and that both for the better perspicuity of the thing it selfe, and my answers which depend thereon, as also for that you may the better know the vaine humours of our Aduersaries, & how they can face out a matter when they intend to deceaue, or are not able to shew what they would pretend to proue: for heer M. Hall tells vs what this Counsaile sayth: *To the confusion of all replyers, in sight of all contradiction, that the Catholiks seeing themselves pressed with so flat a decree, confirmed by authority of Emperours, as would abide no denyall &c. And againe: that this one authority is inough to weigh downe an hundred petty Conuenticles, and many legions (if there had beene many) of priuate contradictions.* And what will you say to this pedlar, who thus prattleth of his small wares? If he had any argument against vs as he hath none, how would he vaunt? do these men speake out of conscience or knowledge, trow you, or els *ad populum phaleras,*

Singular impudency in facing out matters vpon so small proofes

174 *An Answer to M. Halls Apology*,
 to entertaine tyme, and deceaue their Readers;
 in my iudgment this is impudency in the super-
 latiuē degree, and for this alone he deserueth for
 euer to be discredited; seeing he could not but
 know what we had answered to this Synod, &
 and that himself was not able therunto to make
 any reply, but this his tallent of shameles dealing
 will better appeare in all the other particulars,
 which I will now in order discusse.

52. First then he sayth that this was a ge-
 nerall Councell, and so he still tearmeth it *the*
sixt generall Councell, but this we haue now shew-
 ed to be false: for it was neither the sixth, nor
 yet generall, as not called by the Bishop of Rome,
 but by him who had no authority, no Bishop,
 Priest, or Deacon sent from the Sea Apostolike
 was there, which in no generall Councell law-
 fully assembled was euer wanting, none of the
 rest of the Patriarches of the East were present,
 none of the West invited, and the Canons by
 supreme authority at their first appearance con-
 demned, which things cannot agree to a true
 generall Councell: and if it were Prouinci-
 all (as M. Hall shal neuer make more of it if he
 make so much) then can it not make lawes to
 bind the whole Church, but that particuler pro-
 uince wherein it was made, and if these also by
 higher power be condemned, as in this case it
 happeneth, then doth it not bind that neither,
 or any place els, but is to be refused of all, as was
 the Councell of *Carthage* called by S. *Cyprian*,
 which allowed the rebaptizing of infants which
 had beene christened by heretickes, which M.
 Hall might as well haue vrged against vs, as this
 of

The Tru-
 lan Con-
 uenticle
 no gene-
 ral Coun-
 cell.

of Constantinople, and better also for that S. Cyprian is of a greater authority, more antiquity, sanctity and learning, then *Callinicus* was: for he dyed a renowned Martyr, and the other neither Martyr, nor Confessor, nor scant an honest man.

53. Nor is *M. Hall* contented with that title of generall falsely and vniustly as *Binnius* noteth vsurped by these schismaticall Bishops, but further will haue it to be a *sacred Councell*: for so he sayth: But this *sacred Councell* doth not only vniuersally approve this practise &c. which point before vpon another occasion I haue spoken of, when I shewed these men more to care for their wiues, then for any conscience or Religion at all, which there I did only insinuate, and heere as in the proper place I meane more fully to prosecute, and to shew that in this Councell nothing is directly decreed for *M. Hall* and his, but that Priests may sometymes vse their wiues, all other Canons being either of things indifferent, or for vs against him, or els for some error against vs both, which if I shew it will take away al doubt in this matter, and proue that in this mans opinion the only granting of a wife is sufficient to make a Councell, that hath defined neuer so many other things against him to be both generall & sacred.

54. First then in the fourth Canon it is defined, that if any Clergy man, haue carnally knowne a Religious woman (as *Luther*, *Bucer*, & others did) that he be deposed: which article if *M. Hall* will insist on his owne grounds he cannot defend, because he calls the vowes of Religious *fily* vowes, and will haue their obseruance

The Trullan Synod no sacred Councell but a prophane assembly.

Canon. 4. Carnall knowledge of Religious women punished by the Trullan Councel.

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 to inuolue an impossible necessity : and no doubt
 should he be permitted to preach in any Mona-
 stery of Nunnes, his first Sermon should be to
 perswade them to let open the dores, run their
 wayes, and take husbands : so as in this the *sacred*
Councell standeth more I trow for vs then him,
 yea quite condemnerh his first parents, who al-
 lowed no virgins, but deflowred them : & how
 in our Countrey this new Gospell fauoureth
 Monasteryes heer mentioned appeareth by this,
 that the first corner stone thereof was layd by
 King Henry in the ouerthrow of all Monasteryes
 of England, and the same spirit still remayneth
 in all the children and posterity of these parents.

55. In the 32. Canon it is commanded that
Canon 32. water be mingled with the wine in the sacrifice
 and that in this forme of wordes : *Quoniam ad no-*
stram cognitionem peruenit &c. because we are given
 to vnderstand that in the countrey of the *Armeni-*
ans they offer only wine on the holy table, not
 mingling water therewith who celebrate the
 vnbloudy sacrifice, alleadging the Doctor of the
 Church *Iohn Chrysostome*, saying thus in his com-
 mentary vpon *S. Matthew*: Where Christ after
 his Resurrection dranke not water but wyne,
 pulling vp by the roote another wicked hereby,
 because there were many who vsed water alone
 in the mysteries &c. And a little after. Wherefore
 because the wicked heresy of water defenders
 was ancient, who for wine vsed only water in
 the proper sacrifice, this diuine man refelling
 this wicked succession of that heresy, and shew-
 ing it to be directly contrary to the Apostolical
 traditiō, he confirmed that which is now sayd,
 and

Mingling
 of wine
 & water
 in the sa-
 crifice.

and because in his owne Church where he was Bishop, he appointed, when the vnbloudy sacrifice was offered, water to be mingled with the wine, prouing this doctrine out of the pretious soueraigne blood, & water which issued from our Saviours side, & was shed for the life of the world, and redemption of sinners.

56. And then further shewing the same out of the practise & ordination of S. Iames, the Apostle in *Hierusalem*, of S. Basil in *Casarea*, and expresse mention thereof in the 3. Councell of *Carthage* (in which was S. *Augustine*) all these I say mentioning the sacrifice and mingling of water with the wine in the same, this sacred Councell maketh this cautelous, resolute, & full decree: *Si quis ergo Episcopus vel Presbyter non secundū traditum ab Apostolis ordinem facit &c.* If therefore any Bishop or Priest obserue not the order deliuered by the Apostles, and mingling water with wine so offer the vndeiled sacrifice, let him be deposed, as proposing the Mystery imperfectly and foolishly, & innouating those things which haue beene deliuered to the Church. So there. An vnbloudy sacrifice mingling of water with wine Which wordes I haue cyted more at large, for that they make so directly for vs against our Adversaries, and that in three speciall points in Controuersy.

57. For heere we haue an vnbloudy sacrifice, not *Metaphoricall*, which only the Protestants allow, of prayers and praying God, but reall and that in bread and wine: that there is water to be mingled with the wine, which they also both in doctrine and practise deny, and both of Truth the one and the other are proued by Apostolicall

M tradition,

178 *An Answer to M. Halls Apology,*
 tradition, which with M. Hall makes no prooffe
 and for al this we haue the authority of another
 Councell of S. Basil, and S. Chrysostome, so as this
 one Canon of this sacred Synod allowes vs as I
 sayd three Catholike truths, and hath nothing
 for Ministers, but that they are not defenders of
 water alone without wine in their communions,
 with which heresy no man who knoweth
 well their natures will euer charge them: for
 they are so far from that errour, as they will tast
 as little water as they may, and drinke nothing
 but of the pure grape without any other mixture
 to allay the heat: but let vs see some few
 more Canons. *is*

Tonsura 58. I omit the very next Canon which
Clericalis warneth all Priests to haue their haire cut, and
 that none vnles he be cut after the Priestly manner,
M. Halls *nisi is Sacerdotali tonsura vsus sit*, be suffered to
modesty preach: so that what authority soeuer M. Hall
 giue vnto the decrees, and make them sacred, yet
 the decrees must needs in his iudgement be all
 shauelings, as it pleaseth the modest man to
 tearme all Catholike Priests and Religious persons:
 but for that this more concerneth manners and
 Ecclesiasticall policy or gouernement then sayth,
 I will no further mention it, as neither the 49. Canon,
 wherein it is decreed, that no Monasteryes be euer
 made secular houses, or giue ouer to be inhabited
 by secular men, which if it were in vse in Englād,
 would ouerthrow many gentlemen who are in possession
 (but by what right will be seene at the last day)
 of Abby lands and houses: for to omit other reasons,
 heer they haue a seuer decree of a sacred Councell,
 if M. Hall may

may be credited against them, which puts them all vnder the penall laws of the Canons made in that behalfe.

59. In the 73. Canon the worship of the *Can. 73.* Crosse is deliuered, & we are taught to adore the same, the words are perspicuous & effectual, & The worship of the Crosse acknowledged
beare this sense, that by reason it is the banner of our saluation, & instrument wherby we were deliuered from the sal we had in our first parents that therefore, & mente, & sermone, & sensu adorationem ei tribuentes &c. in mynd, speech, and affection adoring the same &c. and for this cause al crosses be forbidden to be made on the ground, or pauement, least by the passengers feet walking thereon, *Victoria tropheam iniuria afficiatur*, the trophy of our victory be abused. Is this obserued in England? do you ministers teach the people for reuerence of our Sauours passion to make the Crosse in no place, but where it may be worshipped? and not on the ground, least it be trodden vnder foot? or els do you pull them downe from the Churches where they were worshipped, and tread them vnder your feet? you shall not need to answer, for your facts do speake, & shew you to be as perfect Iconoclasts as euer lived, and enemyes of these Cresses, whereof these Bishops were so great friends: and further where you hold the worship of the Crosse Idolatry, how can that Councell be sacred with you which so plainly commandeth it? I see the loue you beare your wife, M. Hall, is a potent passion and far transports you; seeing it forceth you to call that Synod sacred which defendeth Idolatry.

60. And as in this Canon they reuerence *Can. 32.*
the

The vse
of holy
images
appro-
ued.

the Crosse, so with no lesse respect do they speak of all other holy images in the 82. calling them *venerabilium imaginum picturas*, the pictures of venerable images: and forbidding the painting of Christ according to the shadowes of the old law, they giue order how he is to be described; which care neuer troubles your thoughts who as much reuerence the picture of the Diuel, as of Iesus Christ: for you deny all reuerence to either, and although in shops or chambers you permit them both to be painted, yet within your Churches Christ his picture is as much excluded as the image of *Beelzebub*, and sometymes it happens that in walls and wⁿ towes we see our Saviours and his Saints pictures defaced, razed, and broken in peeces, whiles the picture of the other stands entire and vntouched, which practise in those tymes were vnkowne when images were worshipped by Christians, and image breakers condemned for heretikes, which hapned in the very next generall Councell held after this *Trullan* cōuenticle, as al the world doth know.

Can. 9;
C. 101.

Holy
chrisme,
and reall
presence.

61. Of the vse of holy chrisme, what better testimony can be required then the 95. Canon? and of the reall presence in the 101. where in the Communion the saythfull are sayd to receive *immaculatum corpus*, the immaculate body, and before in the 28. where a Priest entangled with vnlawfull marriage is forbidden *ne Christi corpus alijs distribuat*, that he distribute not the body of Christ to others by communicating them, and the power of remitting and retayning sins in the last, where the Priest is sayd to haue received

ceased power of binding and loosing, and is willed to consider the quality of the sinne, and sinner, that thereby he may be the better able to help him: all which points in our English Synagogue are paradoxes, and either repugnant to the Word, or wanting sufficient warrant of truth, but in this Councell they were not doubted of, but are all and ech of them acknowledged and approued as Catholike and sincere.

62. Besides these Canons which by vs are acknowledged, & impugned by our Ministers, there is one Canon which we do both condemn, to wit the 76. where al meate that hath blood in it is forbidden, according to the old decree in the first Councell that euer was called in the Apostles tymes, wherein it was defined that Christians should absteyne à *suffocato & sanguine*, from strangled things and blood, which being but a temporall law made to exercise the obedience of the Gentils, and support the weaknes of the Jewes for a time, vntill they were fully vnited, and the law of *Moyse* had yielded to the Gospell of Christ, and all legall ceremonies ceased, these men as if we were still vnder that yoke, forbid the eating of blood, which yet the Protestants do eate, and feed also their seruants with blacke puddings, though in *Sussex* some are found to be more scrupulous, as is reported in the Book of the prophane schisme of the Brownists.

Can. 78.
Forbid-
ding of
meates
which
hane
blood in
them.

63. I may seeme to want compassion thus to crush one so far vnder, as that he can neither go, stand, nor creep, and indeed I could be contented with these Canons alleadged, which

shew the sanctity of this Trullan Synod so much magnified and extolled, as you haue heard, to shew some pittie to this poore man, but that ere I end, I must perforce cope closer with him, and that in the very matter controuerted: which combat requires the better attention, for that M. Hall aduentures far, and offers if he be cast to be esteemed as faythles: and I offer no lesse if I ouerbear him not therein to vndergoe the same infamy, so as now we both must stand to our tackling, or els loose all our credit. M. Hall as a champion casting vp his Gantlet; with more courage then wit, maketh this challenge. *If any Protestant Church (sayth he) in Christendome can make a more peremptory, more full and absolute, more cautelous decree for the marriage of Ecclesiasticall persons, let me be condemned as faithles.* So he: a bold proffer, and I take him at his word, & will proue him faithles by this very Councell, yea this very Canon which he doth cyte, or els I giue him leaueto bestow that infamous cytle on my selfe.

64. And to the end there be no mistaking in the tearmes: I vnderstand by a full and absolute decree, such a decree as comprizeth whatsoever belongeth to all the things in controuersy in that matter wherein it is made: for if it should touch one only part, and not another, it were neither full nor absolute, but rather defective and limited: so as when M. Hall sayth, that this decree of Trullam is full and absolute for the marriage of Ecclesiasticall persons, and that no Protestant Church in Christendome can make one more full, it must necessarily follow that it absolutely and fully concludeth all this matter of the

M. Hall
taken at
his word.

What is
to be pro-
ued a-
gainst M.
Hall to
proue
him faith-
les.

the marriage of Clergy men in most ample manner, and that if it be defective in any one point, it is not so full and absolute, but that a fuller & more absolute may be made by Protestants if they should meet together to make one, as in King Edwards dayes they did: this he must vnderstand, or els he vnderstanderh not himselfe, and this if I disproue, I proue him faythles: I meane if I shew this Canon not to be so full, but a more full and cautelous may be made, as supplying that wherein this is wanting, which is very much of that which this man pretendeth as now you shall see.

65. And for the better decision of this point & vnderstanding of this Canon, it will be necessary to know what touching the marriage of Clergy men hath beene deliuered in this Councell, all which may be reduced to foure heads, ^{What in general is decreed in the} whereof the first concerneth their wiues, the rest Trullan themselves. Touching the first in the 4. Canon Councell one restrictiō is made, that if any Bishop, Priest, ^{touching the marriage of} Deacon, Subdeacon &c. shall haue carnall copulation with a Religious woman, that he ^{Priests & Clergy men.} be deposed: if any lay man, that he be separated, and the reason is, *vt qui Christi sponsauium attulerit*: because he hath deflowred the spouse of Christ. And in the next precedent Canon is made another, wherein it is defyned, that whosoever hath twice beene married, or hath had a concubine, can neither be Bishop, Priest, or Deacon, and likewise that none can be Bishop, Priest, or Deacon, who haue married a widow, or one put from her husband: and truly if marriages be free for Clergy men without all

restraint, and the Councell haue made so full a decree, as none can make a fuller, why may they not haue as much liberty heerein as other men haue, and marry *toties quoties* their wiues shal dye and they haue list to take others? And if Ecclesiasticall men by this Councell haue an expresse prohibition to the cōtrary, then I infer that they are restrained: for if this prohibition were not, the decree of their marriage were more full, more peremptory, more absolute, as he hath more full peremptory and absolute liberty who is free to go where he will, then he who is forbidden many places where els willingly he would go: this needeth no more prooffe, then this other; heere it is midnight, *ergo* heere it is not noone day.

None permitted to marry after ordination.

66. The second point defyned is in the 6. Canon, where according to the constitutions of the Apostles it is determined: *Vt deinceps nulli penitus hypodiacono, vel Diacono, vel Presbytero post sui ordinationem contrahere liceat &c.* That heereafter it be not lawfull for any Subdeacon, Deacon, or Priest to marry after his ordination, and if he presume to do it, let him be deposed: but if any who are to be Clergy men will by the law of matrimony haue a wife, let him marry before he be either Subdeacon, Deacō, or Priest. So there, which particularly toucheth M. Hall if he haue any orders: for I vnderstand that he was Minister first and married after, which heere to such as be in holy orders is absolutely forbidden, and thereupon it followes that such as were made Priests, Deacons, or Subdeacons of married men after the death of their wiues, were for e-

ever debarred from marrying againe.

67. The third thing decreed is, that which before I mentioned out of the 10. and 48. Canons, in both which Bishops are forbidden not only to vse their wiues, but also to dwell with them, yea their wiues are commanded to liue in a Monastery, which must be *procul ab Episcopi habitatione exstructum*, built far off from the house of the Bishop, where the sayd Bishops are commanded to prouide for them: and that if any do the contrary he be depofed.

Bishops forbidden to vse their wiues which they had before their ordination.

68. The 4. and last thing is, that which M. Hall hath painted out in his margent, setting it downe at full length, and it is only the mayne proofe of his epistle, of which he so much braggeth and vaunteth as you haue heard, and sayth that it is as full and absolute a decree as any Protestant Church can make, or els he will be condemned as *faibles*: and to the end he may not complaine but with that I extenuate or diminish the force of his argument by following another translation, as lesse fauouring him, although in the thing it selfe I find no difference in any edition: I will take the Text out of his owne booke, truly turned out of Greeke into Latin (as he sayth) by Kemnitius, though I need not to take all for truth, which M. Hall (whome presently by his owne testimony I shall condemne for *faibles*) proposeth for such. Thus then it runneth.

The Councell allowed married men to be made Priests, but with some restriction.

69. *Quoniam in Romana Ecclesia loco Canonis, seu decreti traditum esse cognouimus &c.* For that we haue knowne it deliuered in the Roman Church by way of Canon, or decree, that such Deacons or Priests as are to be esteemed worthy of ordering

Can. 13.

» proesse for the tyme to come neuer to know
 « their wiues, we following the old Canon of the
 « Apostolicall, sincere, exquisite, and orderly
 « constitution, will haue the lawfull coniugal co-
 « habitation of holy men (or men in holy Orders)
 « euen from this day heereafter to be valid & firme
 « no wayes dissoluing their coniunction or copu-
 « lation with their owne wiues: therefore if any
 « one be found worthy &c. he is not to be prohi-
 « bited to ascend to this degree, for that he dwel-
 « leth with his lawfull wife, neither let it be de-
 « manded of him in the tyme of his ordering, or
 « be compelled that he would or ought to abstayn
 « from the lawfull vse of his owne wife. So he out
 « of the Councell. And this is that rare iewel he
 hath found in scraping the dunghill of this con-
 demned Synod.

No Bishop
 named in
 the Trul-
 lan Coun-
 cels Ca-
 noncyted
 by M.
 Hall.

70. All these things then being desyred in
 this Councell, let vs now see whether this one
 decree be so full, absolute, peremptory, and cau-
 telous, as that no Protestant Church in Christe-
 dome can make a more full, for the marriage of
 Ecclesiasticall persons: for first no Bishop is heer
 named, and by other Canons they are by name
 excluded. Againe heere is no graunt for Priests
 to marry after their ordination, nor yet is that
 recalled of hauing but one wife, or debarring
 such as haue married widdows &c. and cannot
 this in your opinion *M. Hall* be more full, more
 absolute? I hope you will graunt Bishops to be
 Ecclesiasticall men, and likewise Priests, who
 are ordered out of wedlocke, as you were your
 selfe, if that disorderly promotion of yours may
 haue that title, and then vpon that concession I
 make

make this argument, or demonstration rather to conclude you *faibbles*: No Canon is so full and absolute for the marriage of Ecclesiasticall persons as a fuller cannot be made which allows not all Bishops (the chiefest of the Clergy) & all single Priests leaue to marry, & such as may marry, not to take what wiues they list: but the Canon cyted by M. Hall is such a one, *ergo* it may be more full and absolute. And then further: If that Canon may be more full and absolute, then is M. Hall proued *faibbles* with his owne consent, but it may be more full & absolute: for it may graunt marriage as well to Bishops, as single Priests, & liberty to take what wiues they list, *ergo* M. Hall is *faibbles*. I see not what other answer he can giue hereunto, then *concedo totum*: for it is in perfect forme and figure.

Two most
evident
demonstra-
tions,

71. And in my iudgment none can sufficiently admire the rare impudency of these men who vlc so much boasting where they find so little occasion: for whereas of foure things determined in this *Trullan* Councell touching these marriages, three of them make directly for vs; he as though all stood full on his side, offers very desperately to be condemned as *faibbles*, if any Protestant Church can make a fuller decree then that which he cyteth, when as not only they can make, but *de facto* haue made in England, as now I will shew, where Bishops and Ministers, euen in their ministry marry and remarry, & *toti in hoc sunt*, which dealing of his, is as much as if some ridiculous souldier should wantingly brag of his horse, to be the best and swiftest in the land, and offer to pawne his life on any race he

Bedlam
bragging

he should runne, and yet that horse of his should be found to haue but one leg, & that also lame, on which he could neither go, nor stand; who would not think such a one more fit for bedlam then any sober company? and truly so it fareth heere with M. Hall, who pawneth all his credit (which to an honest man is more deere then his life) if any Protestant Church can make a more full decree for Ecclesiasticall mens marriages, when as yet in foure points decreed by the Councell touching that matter, three are flat against him, and the fourth also doth want of full measure as is euident.

72. For after the words cyted before by M. Thevse of Hall, it followeth in the same Canon, *Scimus & qui* wiues for- *Carthagine conuenerunt &c.* we know, as the Fathers bidden to also who assembled at *Carthage*, hauing care of Priests the grauity and honesty of the Clergy haue sayd whiles that Subdeacons who touch the holy mysteryes, they did as also Deacons, and Priests in their turnes, abserue in stayne from their wiues, and to the end that we the Church may likewise obserue the custome delinered by the Apostles, & obserued in al antiquity (knowing the tyme for euery thing) let this especially be kept in fasting and prayer: for they who assist the diuine altar in the tyme they touch these sacred things, must altogether be continent (or abstayne from their wiues) that they may obteyne that of God, which they humbly demand. So in this Canon, at the making wherof it seemeth these married Subdeacons, Deacons, Priests to haue bene ordered for the want that was of others in supplying the offices of the Church, and so were not bound alwayes, but at certayne times

&

& by courte to yield their attendance, at which tyme they were as you see debarred from their wiues: and if they had alwayes been employed, their wiues had for euer beene forbidden, and so the graunt heere giuen is not so full as it should be for M. Hall, and his, who will endure no such restrictive limitation.

73. But when it pleased God whose iudgments are vnsearchable to permit our countrey to make a revolt from the knowne Catholicke Church, and to submit the same to the malediction mentioned in the Prophet: *Dabo pueros Principes, & effeminati dominabuntur eis.* I will giue them children for their princes, and effeminate companions shall rule ouer them: then I say vnder a yong child, an effeminate Metropolitan, and a feely simple Protector the fullnes of this lewd liberty did enter, and the reynes were let loose to all licentious life: I meane in the tyme of K. Edward the sixth, when Only sayth couered all sinnes, satisfied for all villany, and supplied all good workes, and when there was no mirth among Ministers but in marriage; then I say in the first parlament (albeit King Henry the 8. by the same authority some 7. years before had made it to be enacted, that Priests after the order of priesthood by the law of God might not marry) it was decreed that whosoever should be afterwards, or were already of the Clergy, that the same person or persons should be from thence forth admitted, & allowed to haue his or their Clergy, although they or any of them had been diuers or sundry tymes married to any single woman, or to any widdow or widdowes, or

154. 3.

The decree for the marriage of Clergy men vnder King Edward the 6. far more full absolute, and peremptory then that which was made in the Trullan Synod.

Anno 1. Edward. cap. 12.

to two wiues or more, any law, statute, or vsage
to the contrary whatlouer. So the Parliament.

And this is more full, absolute, and peremptory,
then the Canon of *Trullum* as you see: for heere
that is granted, which is there denyed: there was
a limitation to one wife, a prohibition from a
widdow; heere hell gate it set wide open, and
leauē giuen to the Clergy to take more wiues, or
widdowes, no lesse then for any other men,
without any limitation or prohibition at all.

74. But the statute albeir fuller then the Ca-
non, yet commeth short of another made in the
2. and 3. yeares of the same King, when at one
blow they chopped off all these points togeather
which either in the *Trullan*, or other Councells
whatlouer had beene defined against them: for
in despite of all the world besides, contrary to
to the whole course of the Christian Church,
Generall Councells, and continuall practise of
all tymes and places, especially of our owne
country thus it was determined, and set downe
for a law. Be it enacted by our Soueraign Lord
the King with the assent of the Lords Spiritual
and Temporall &c. that all and euery law and
lawes, Canons, constitutions, and ordinances
heertofoe made by authority of man only which

A most
full, per-
emptory
and abso-
lute de-
cree.

doth prohibit, or forbid marriage to any Eccle-
siasticall or spirituall person, or persons of what
estate, condition, or degree they be, or by what
name or names fouer they be called, which by
Gods law may lawfully marry in ali and euery
article, branch, and sentence concerning only
the prohibition for the marriage of the persons
aforesayd, shall be vtterly voyd, and of none
effect.

effect. And that all manner of forfeitures, payns,
penalties, crymes, or actions which were in the
sayd lawes conteyned, and of the same did fol-
low concerning the prohibition for the marri-
age of the persons aforesayd, be clearly and viter-
ly voyde, and of none effect, to all intents, con-
structions, & purposes, as well concerning mar-
riages heeretofore made by any Ecclesiasticall
or spiritual persons aforesayd, as also such which
shall be duely and lawfully had, celebrated, and
made betwixt the persons which by the law of
God may lawfully marry. So there.

75. And now who so will paralell this
parlament with *M. Halls* sacred Councell of *Trul-*
lum, shall soone see how short the one commeth
of the other, the Synod I meane of the Statute:
for that in the former is only leaue giuen to
Priests to keep their wiues which they had mar-
ryed before their ordination, and in the Parla-
ment is an absolute leaue giuen to all, and that
whether they were married before or after. In
that Councell Bishops were to put their wiues
far from them, heer they are permitted to keep
them at home, or if they had none, to seeke and
marry them: there the second marriage, or els
the taking of a widdow made men incapable of
holy orders: heere no multitude of wiues or
widdows do hinder at all: there to haue known
a Nunne was sacriledge, heere if she list to mar-
ry, there is open freedome and no prohibition:
there (euen in *M. Halls* Canon) Subdeacons,
Deacons, and Priests that did serue by course in
the Church, where to forbear their wiues
for the tyme of their attendance: heere is no

more

The de-
crees of
the Cou-
cell and
parlamēt
paralel-
led.

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more restraint for that tyme then for any other:
there it was a constitution of the Apostles not to
marry after they were in holy orders; heer wher
all things went out of order, Gods law is to the
contrary: in fine this reuerfeth all that was or-
deyned in that Councel against the Protestants,
and therefore in the behalfe of the marriage of
their Clergy men, this is without comparifon
far more full, and absolute then that.

The Par-
lament in
K. Edw-
ardsdayes
very per-
emptory
and reso-
lute.

76. And as for peremptorines, that was heer
very singular: for what could be more peremp-
tory then for a few Sectaryes of a little Iland, to
sit vpon all Councells, Canon's, Constitutions,
and all Ecclesiasticall lawes made and allowed
by the whole Christian Church (a few looke
Greccians excepted) and without all controle
practised for so many ages togeather, and to pro-
claime them all inualide & of none effect? and
further to call them, though desyned againe and
againe in neuer so many Councells, Generall,
Prouinciall, National as after shall be shewed, to
be the Lawes, Canons, Constitutions, and or-
dinances made by authority *of man only*, as if the
authority of the whole Church were but the au-
thority of man which is subiect to errour, and
had not the warrant of Christ for her direction
and infalibility: and as though that Parliament
had had more authority then *of a man only*, to
wir, either Angelical or Diuine, when as many
therein assembled were not Angels, God wot,
& the chiefe dealers in this broken matter were
scant honest men: and as for diuine authority it
was inough for them to name the law of God,
which rightly vnderstood made as much for
them,

them, as the lawes of our land doe for theeues, murtherers, and other malefactours.

77. Which desperate attempt was some-
 what like the proceeding of *Iacke Straw*, *Vvat Straw* in
Tiler, *John Bull* &c. in the tyme of *Richard* the 2. the tyme
 when without authority they late in Councell of K. *Richard* the
 to suppress all the nobility, Bishops, Canons &c. to kill all the lawyers, and burne the lawes
 of the realme, and of the Clergy to leaue none a-
 line but only begging Fryers: for as that attempt
 of subiects was seditious & treasonable, because
 done against the authority, dignity, person of
 the King, and lawes of the land, so was this of a
 few schismaticall Bishops, and other lay men,
 who stil haue beene struiuing to meddle in Eccle-
 siasticall affayres, so lesse rebellious, schismaticall
 and hereticall against the Church of Christ: for
 they who sat in this Councell, had no authority
 ouer the Church, but were subiect to her lawes
 as members thereof, and such Pastours as were
 present in the same, were subordinate to others
 of higher calling, without whose consent, au-
 thority, and approbation they could not con-
 clude any Ecclesiasticall new law preiudiciall to
 the former, more then *Iacke Straw* & his consorts
 against the Ciuill: much lesse could they ouer-
 throw a law by diuers Synods so often confir-
 med and still in vse from the first planting of the
 fayth in the Iland; that also being no tribunall
 to decide Ecclesiasticall, but temporall and Ci-
 uill, for which only all nationall Parlements
 are summoned: a Parlement may confirme by
 decree what the Bishops in Synod haue defyned
 for the better execution of Ecclesiasticall lawes,

Iacke

Straw in

the tyme

of K. *Richard*

the 2.

second

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but

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but make laws, or define matters of that nature,
being only a Ciuill Court, it cannot.

78. Wherefore to end this matter, hauing
shewed the large difference that is between these
two different decrees, which is as much as I did
vndertake to do against M. Hall, or els to be cast in
this cause, it resteth now that out of these pre-
mises & his owne graunt I conclud against him,
and say as our Sauour sayd to the wicked ser-
uant in the Ghospell, *ex ore tuote iudico serne ne-
quam*: I iudge thee wicked seruant out of thyne
owne mouth: for thus if you remember he sayd.

M. Hall
cōcluded
to be
faithles.

*If any Protestant Church in Christiendome can make a more
peremptory, more full, and absolute, more cautelous decree
(then the 13. of the Trullan Synod) for the marriage of
Ecclesiasticall persons, let me be condemned as saythles: to
which maior, or first proposition set downe in
his owne wordes, I add this minor: but the sta-
tutes of Edward sixt are more peremptory, more
full, more absolute, more cautelous (for they
take away all scruple and remorse) then that de-
cree: the conclusion will necessarily follow, ergo
he is to be condemned as saythles, or els he must
shew wherein this syllogisme, either for matter,
forme, or figure doth faile, which he shal neuer
be able to do.*

Tit. 3.

Heretikes
condem-
ned by
thēselues.

79. The Apostle amongst other notes of an
heretike putteth this for one, that he is *proprio iu-
dicio condemnatus*, condemned by his owne iudg-
ment, or a S. Cyprian in diuers places conforme
to the Greeke readeth *à semetipso*, is condemned
by himselfe, which may very fitly be applyed to
M. Hall, who is taken as you see in his own turne,
and condemned by himselfe, and that either to
want

want honesty, if King Edwards lawes be more
ful, absolute &c. then the other which he allead-
geth, or els to be deuoyd of all shame, if he stand
in denyall of that which euery one perceaueth
to be so manifest, and notorious. He shal neuer
be able so to direct his barke, though he were
neuer so skillfull a Pilot, as to passe between this
Scylla and *Carybdis* without falling into the gulfe
and perishing in the froth of his owne precipi-
tate folly: and in case this of King Edward were
not full inough (as it is too full and runneth o-
ber) yet may the Protestant Churches deuile a
fuller, & so be no lesse then now remaine faith-
les, witles, and shameles.

80. And as though he meant to be faithles,
witles, and shameles indeed, presently after the
words of his rash and rechles promise, he faceth
out so palpable an vntruth, as in all the writings
I haue read of Protestants, or all the lyes they
haue made, which are both grosse and many, I
neuer to my knowledge haue scene any deale
red with such brauery or lusty bragging as this:
so as if any list to know the mans speciall tallér,
or the liuely character of a shameles writer, he
shall not need to seeke for any other example:
for speaking of this his *sacred Canon* which san-
ctified in his opinion the whole Councell thus
he ruffeth. A place I graunt (sayth he) misera-
bly handled by our aduersaries, and because they
cannot blemish it inough, indignely turne it out
of the Councells: what dare not impudency do?
against all euidences of Greeke copyes, against
their owne *Gratian*, against pleas of antiquity?
this is the readiest way, whome they cannot an-

A flaun-
ting lye
conioyn-
ed with
singular
impuden-

swereto burne, what they cannot shift off to blot out, and to cut the knot which they cannot vntye. So M. Hall. And who would not thinke that it were impossible, that one so earnest, in such riot of wordes, with an exclamation of *what dareth not impudency do?* in so direct, so eager, so confident, so resolute a charge, to vse such villany (pardon me if I be earnest for this his behaviour is so base, as I know not what other title to giue) as to report a meere vnruth, & charge vs with a lye?

All editions of the Trullan Council haue M. Halls Canon.

§1. For let this man tell vs if he can, how we haue blemished, how torne, how burnt, how cut off, how blotted out, against Greeke copyes, *Gratian*, and *pleas of antiquity*, this Canon? when the same as it is cyted by *Gratian*, as it is in Greeke copyes, as allcaded by authority, is as ful, as entier, yea as aduantageously set down for our Aduersaryes in our Councils, as is the translation of *Kemnitius*, which he hath giuen vs in his own margēt? and my denyall, because it is not set downe with such brauery of wordes, be not a sufficient answer to his affirmatiue slanderous charge, let the Reader but see these editions which are all that at this present I haue by me, to wit of *Seuerinus Binnius*, which of all the rest is most ample, in his third tome set forth in the yeare 1606. the edition of *Venice* printed by *Dominicus Nicolinus*, in the yeare 1585. the *Roman* edition printed in the Popes *Vatican* 1612. and before all these, the edition of *Paris* printed by *Audoenus Paruus* in the yeare 1555. and if all these editions haue it (and I suppose the like of others which haue printed that Synod) how do we cut it out? how do we

scare,

teare, burne, or blemish it? and why doth this man so tragically exclaime and declaime against vs for that which we neither do nor pretend?

82. And so far we are from burning, or tearing out this Canon, that in case all the Cou- cells that are extant in the world were burnt & torne, yet this Canon would be found both in Gratian, Baronius, Bellarmine, and others: and for pleas of antiquity it is set downe by wicked Photius in his epistle to Pope Nicolas at large, which is extant in Baronius: and for the Greeke cōpye, that he shall also find printed in the Vati- Baron. 16. can edition, where every page hauing two co- 10. anno lumnes, one is the Greeke, and the other is the 863. Nico- lai 6. Latin: and to go about to cut, burne, blemish, teare, or deface a Canon cyted, vrged, answered by so many Authors were ridiculous, and im- possible: and this man should haue proued that we teare, and burne as he sayth this Canon in- dignely, and not in steed of prouing which he could not do, crye out like a Bedlam: *what dare not impudency do?* For we know that impudency will do any thing, if it meet with one that will be as impudent as M. Hall: for then it will euen charge vs, as he doth, most vauntingly with do- ing that which we do not, but the contrary, as in this particuler instance I haue clearly de- clared.

What da-
reth not
M. Hall's
impuden-
cy do?

83. I am sorry to vse this sharpnes, were it not that I launce such a festred soare, as ieniti- ues would but hurt, and corraſiues must cure: let M. Hall be lesse impudent, and he shall find me more respectiue: I loue his person, but hate his heresies, and will not see my cause, which

Heretikes is common with all Catholikes betrayed, or not to be spared where their dealing is to impudēt. truth by painted falshood to be misprized: and if he forget all modesty so far, as vpon a false & iniurious charge to taxe vs also with impudency, and that euen when he sheweth it himselfe in the highest degree, he must haue patience if we vse so vehement a reiection. *Catulus* the Roman Oratour earnestly pleading, was demanded by his Aduersary, *cur latras Catule?* why dost thou barke *Catulus*? and he answered, *quia lupum video*, because I see a wolfe. And if I for the same cause barke more then I would for such intollerable dealing, where truth is trampled vnder foot, & insolency aduanced, I deeme it better to be too earnest, then with too much mildnes to incurre the checke of the Prophet, *Canes muti non valentes latrare*: be like dumbe dogs not able to barke, or encounter with the wolfe, where his behauiour is so vnmasked and open, as heere it is. I hope this warning will make him more wary, & if he write any more to see that it be with such characters, as need not make the writer to blush, his friends to thame, and aduersaryes to disgrace him: but to draw to an end of this Councell.

Isa. 56.

84. After this charge (which now to his shame we haue discharged) it followeth in his epistle. The Romanists in the next age (sayth he) were somewhat more equall, who seeing themselves pressed with so flat a decree, confirmed by authority of Emperours, as would abide no denyall, began to distinguish vpon the point, limiting this liberty only to the Eastern Church and graunting that all the Clergy of the East might marry, not theirs. So Pope *Steenus* the second

cond freely confesse. The tradition, sayth he, of the Easterne Church is otherwise then that of the Roman Church: for their Priests, Deacons, or Subdeacons are marryed, but in this Church or the Westerne no one of the Clergy from the Subdeacon to the Bishop hath leaue to marry. So *M. Hall*. And then after his manner vauntingly sayth: Liberally, but not inough: if he yield this why not more? with other such interrogatories as I shall after set down, when I haue refuted the former passage.

85. Where first to pretermitt the false interpretation of Deacons or Subdeacons, as if they were not different orders, because now in England there are no Subdeacons, and the Latin word *atq;* doth not signify *or*, but *and*, and so he should haue sayd Deacons, and Subdeacons, and not haue confounded them together as he doth: besides this peccadillo, there are three other mayne vntruthes in these wordes, and all the ground whereon it relyeth is false. For where he sayth: *that Catholikes saw themselves pressed with so flat a decree confirmed by authority of Emperours, as would abide no denyall*, we haue before made it *abide a denyall*, and to be so far from a *flat decree* of any Council which binderth all to imbrace it, as that hitherto it hath neuer bene receaued in that kind for flat or round, and that by authority of such as then liued, as *S. Bede*, or not long after, as *Paulus Diaconus*, and *Anastasiu*: and for the confirmation of Emperours, the matter is smal, vnles it had first had another confirmation which could not be gotten, but was flatly denyed. Councils take not their authority from Emperours, but Emperours se-

The first
vntruth
in *M. Halls*
wordes.

cond Councils with their power, that all vnder them may obey what they who are in spiritual authority ouer them haue decreed: and M. Halls Emperours in particular, to wit *Iustinian* the younger, *Philippicus &c.* being such as they were, we will not much enuy (M. Hall) their confirmations, whose liues and actions were such, as they were staynes to Christianity, and their deaths so disastrous, as well sheweth by whose heauy hand and indignation they were chastized.

86. And if M. Hall will haue all Councils confirmed by Emperours to be lawful, and their decrees Canonical, the let him imbrace another Council of *Constantinople*, called soone after the former by *Philippicus Bardanes* the Emperour, wherein the heresy of the *Monothelites* (who will haue our Sauour not to haue had any humane will) was defyned, and the true sixth Synod of *Constantinople* condemned: and as well may M. Hall pleade for himselfe out of this Council as of the former: for in this was the authority of the Emperour who called, who confirmed it, there was *Iohn* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and far more Bishops then in the *Trullan* Conuenticle: wherfore in the doctrine of this man, the decree is flat, confirmed by the authority of the Emperours, admits no denyall. The *Monothelite* heretiks will thanke you, M. Hall, and remaine your debour, How much the Church hath gotten by Imperiall Synods, too lamentable experience hath taught vs as well in these, as in diuers others, whereof one was within few yeares after this of *Philippicus*, called by *Leo* the *Iconoclast*, who with our Protestants condemned, defaced, razed, pul-
led

Touching
the confir-
mation of
Councils
by Empe-
rours.

led downe, abused and burned all sacred images of our Sauour, and his Saints: and (to omit others in the later tymes as the Conuenticles of Henry the fourth against Gregory the seauenth &c.) it is not the authority of Emperours when we speake of Councells which makes them so firme as they can abide no denyall, but the promise & assistance of the holy Ghost with the Pastours of the Church, without any reference to the ciuill magistrate, or els the first Apostolicall Councell had beene void and of none effect, when notwithstanding they sayd, *visum est Spiritui sancto & Aet. 15. vobis*: it seemed good to the Holy Ghost and vs: the scepter in this must yield to the myter, the sheep to the Pastours, the ciuill Magistrate to the Ecclesiasticall, Kings and Princes vnto Bishops and Prelates. The causes are different, and the Courts diuers. The second vnruth is that Pope Steuen granted that the Clergy of the East might marry, which after shall in due place be refuted.

87. The last vnruth is touching Steuen the seconds decree: for whereas in *Gratian* there is The vn-
no number of second, or third, or any els, M. Hall truth of
(as none are more bold then such as know least) M. Halls
without more ado resolutely affirmes it to be the touching
second Steuen, but truth so reclaims against it, or Pope
rather ouerbeareth it so violently, as it cannot Steuen.
subsist: for the second Steuen living but three *Gratian.*
dayes Pope, or foure at the most, had no leasure *distin. 31.*
to call a Councell or make decrees: and that this *can. aliter.*
was done in Councell, *Gratian* witnesseth, who
sayth that he made the decree in a Councell held
in the Lateran Church, and three dayes being too
short a tyme euen for the very intimation, the

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falshood of this charge doth refute it selfe, and
demonstratiuely shew this decrec not to haue
beene made by this *Steuen*.

88. If *M. Hall* to help himselfe will take
thethird for the second as some do, who by rea-
son of the short life of the second *Steuen*, do not
number him among the Popes, that will also as
little auaille him: for in all his tyme there was
no Councell held in the Lateran Church, or any
where els: for such were the troubles of those
tempestuous tymes, *Aistulphus* raging in the West,
and the furious firebrands of the Iconoclasts or
image-breakers, being in perpetuall care & tra-
uall from one place to another, to compose all se-
ditionous tumults, and to cancell the decree of
another Councell gathered by the Emperours
authority, to wit *Constantinus* (your friend *M. Hall*
though scant sweet) for suppressing of images,
heretikes and called the seauenth Oecumenicall, but with
do bring as good reason as your *Trulla* was called the sixth,
for confir- for no other Patriarch was present, none of
mation of the West inuited, no Legat of the Popes, or au-
their he- thority required, no law or forme of a true Cou-
relies. cel obserued, al went by force, fury, and faction,
& such commonly are the Councells you bring
for confirmation of your heresy.

89. I confesse that *Steuen* the 4. held there
a Councell, but that was only called for the de-
posing of the false Pope *Constantine*, and deposing
of such as were ordered by him in that schisme,
and preuenting the like inconuenience of cho-
sing a lay man to be Pope againe: for such was
this *Constantine* chosen by popular tumult, with-
out all order or forme of Canonically election,
by

by the seditious and tyrannicall procurement of his brother *Toto* then in *Rome*, whose power and violence at that tyme none could withstand; & last of all it disannulled the decree of the false Synod of *Constantinople* against holy images: but of Priests wiues, either in the East or West, there is no mention, nor yet in any Auther of these tymes. When *M. Hall* is more particuler in his charge, he shall haue a more particuler answer: in the meane tyme I say with *Bellarmin*, that Canon perhaps to be of no authority, but an error of the collectours, and that for the reasons alledged, and the cause is poorly defended that is grounded on the errours or mistakings of others.

90. And in case we graunted all the words which *M. Hall* bringeth out of this Canon, nothing would follow thereof against vs, but that the Greeke Priests, Deacons, and Subdeacons were married, which is to be vnderstood before their ordination, as the Glosse expoundeth, and the Councell as before you haue heard did define: and it is ridiculous to say, as *M. Hall* doth, that then they began to distinguish: for whereas the *Grecians de facto* had in this separated themselves from the Latin Church, had made Councells, or rather Conuenticles of their owne, and were borne out in al by the sword of their Emperors, where the fact and practise was so different, as all might see it with their eyes, little need there was that any should inuent a distinction or limitation of liberty, as this man dreameth: and the Canon he cyteth out of *Gratian* (if it be a Canon) is but a declaration of the fact (which was

Gratians Canon nothing maketh for M. Hall.

204. *An Answer to M. Halles Apology*,
was so conspicuous as could not be denyed)
shewing only what was don in the East Church
what not permitted in the West.

M. Halle
want of
Logicke.

91. And whereas M. Hall auerreteth, that this
Canon graunted that all the Clergy of the East
might marry, but not of the West, his glosse
foully corrupteth the Text, and conteyneth an
euidēt vnttruth: for neither all the Clergy, nor
any of the Clergy could marry in the Easterne
Church: and this man seemeth to be of very
grosse capacity that will haue these two propo-
sitions to be equipollent, or to beare the same
sense; Priests, Deacons, and Subdeacons in the
Greeke Church are marryed, and this; all the
Clergy of the East may marry: for first Priests,
Deacons, and Subdeacons make not al the Cler-
gy, or els Bishops, Archbishops, Patriarches,
Metropolitans shall not be Clergy men, which
yet are the chiefeſt of that ranke, and to whome
all the other as inferiours to their betters are
subordinate and depend, which yet are debar-
red from marriage. Againe, that Priests, Deacons
and Subdeacons in Greece were then marryed
is cleare, but it is no lesse cleare that they were
not marryed when they were Priests, Deacons,
and Subdeacons, but before, as the Councell de-
clared: for although it were permitted that mar-
ryed men might be made Priests, yet was it for-
biddē that Priests should be made marryed men,
and the same of Deacons, and Subdeacons: and
so I conclude with M. Hall, that not only all the
Clergy of Greece might not marry, but that no
Clergy man in holy orders (for such only are spe-
cially so termed) might marry at all. I hope M.

It was
lawful
for marri-
ed men in
Greece to
be made
Priests, }
but neuer
lawful for
Priests to
marry.

Hall

Hall that your brayns are not so far spent, but that if you pause a while, and scratch your head where it doth not itch, you will conceaue this difference, that married men may be preferred to the Clergy, but not Clergy men permitted to marry: the first by the Trullan Councel was granted, the other neuer allowed: and therefore these words of yours, *all the Clergy of the East might marry*, may be crowned with a silver whet-stone.

92. By that which I haue sayd vnto this obiection of Pope *Steuens* Canon, that it is of no authority, as hauing no certayne Authour, that it maketh not against vs, in case it were true that *M. Halls* collections thereon are false, you may well of your selfe without any further discourse be able to iudge what regard is to be had to his vaunting demands and interrogations, multiplied without cause: for after the words of Pope *Steuens*, thus he writeth: *Liberally, but not inough: & if he yield this, why not more? shall it be lawfull in the East, which in the VVest is not? do the Gospells or lawes of equity alter according to the foure corners of the world? doth God make difference betweene Greece and England? if it be lawfull, why not euery where? if vnlawfull, why is it done any where? so then you see we differ not from the Church in this, but from the Romish.* So *M. Hall*. And by this you may perceauce the veyne of the man, and his Thraasonical boasting: he would sayne be crowning, & if he had but any aduantage, there should need no other trump to sound out his prayses, conquests, and triumphs then his owne pen: but all this noyse wil proue but the sound of an empty tubb, and powder shot without bullet, a froth I meane of idle wordes, and childish clamours

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mours as full of vanity, as deuoyd of wit.

93. If he yield this, sayth this wise man, why not more? but of what yielding doth he dreame? in the words cyted in *Steuens* the seconds name, I find no yielding nor resisting, no fighting nor vanquishing, no battaile nor conquest, there it is only related what the *Grecians* did vpon their false Councell, what liberty they vsurped, in so much as their Priests, Deacons, and Subdeacons were marryed, but that it was not permitted in the Latin Church: & what is that more which this Epistler would haue him to yield? he answereth very wisely by another demand: shall it be lawfull in the East, which in the West is not? I answer him yes: and further to gratify the man, do add that one & the selfe same thing at one tyme may be vnlawfull, and yet lawfull at another. And if he know not this his parishioners are troubled with a scely Minister, who haue him for their Curate: though this in the meane tyme I must tell him, that *Steuens* sayth nothing of this fact of the *Grecians*, whether it be lawfull or vnlawfull: and therefore *M. Hall* frames collectiōs out of his fingers ends, without any ground or graunt of his authors: I know he stretcheth far and maketh him to say, that they might marry, but he sayth not so much, but only that they were marryed, whether well or il, he desyneth not. But to come to our case.

94. He cannot be ignorant what our Sauiour answered the Pharisees touching the question propounded about putting away their wiues in *S. Matthews Gospell*, which they vrged to shew that it was lawfull to marry another,

Mat. 19.

ther, euen during the life of the former, so there had beene a bill of diuorce made between them, our Sauour replyed: *Moyſes ad duritiā cordis veſtri permiſit vobis diſmittere vxores veſtras, ab initio autem non fuit ſic.* Moyſes permitted you for the hardnes of your hart to diſmiſſe your wiues, but from the beginning it was not ſo: as if he had ſayd: in the beginning euery one was bound to one wife, & ſo long it was not lawfull to haue more, but in the end Moyſes permitted diuorces, and then vpon his permiſſion it was lawfull: if heere ſome light head ſhould dally, as M. Hall doth, & aſke, what, is Gods law changed by tymes? ſhal that be lawfull to day, which yeſterday was vnlawfull? if it be Gods law, it endureth for euer, if it be abrogated by a contrary permiſſion, it cannot be the law of God, and ſo forth, all were idle babbling, becauſe God being the Author of his own law may alter, change, diſpoſe, and abrogate the ſame at his pleaſure.

Even the law of God did bind at one tyme & not at another.

95. So in this preſent queſtion the ſingle life of Priests being an eccleſiaſtical law, though Apoſtolicall and ſtill in vſe from their tymes, to ſaue the Greeke Church from further reuple, being ſo carnally giuen, and ſo forward to imbrace all hereſies, as the Arrian, Macedonian, Neſtorian, Eutichian, Iconoclaſts, Monothelites, and diuers others begun and nourished amongſt them, the Church to ſtay them in the reſt, permitted them with the former reſtrictions to take wiues before their ordination: for in Eccleſiaſtical laws the Church can diſpenſe if they conteine matter of fact and not of fayth or beliefe, as this doth, & that only *ad duritiā cordis eorum*, for the hardnes of their hart:

of the Greeke Priests why permitted.

hart: for heere no other reason entred, because at now we shall shew, *ab initio non suit sic*, it was not so from the beginning, even in the Greek Church, and therefore the collection of this man is fond and ridiculous, when after these brags he sayth: *that vntill the tyme of that Councell the marriage of Clergy men was free*, he might as wel haue concluded thus: in King Edward the sixt his tyme it was enacted by Parliament that all Clergy men and Religious might marry, *ergo* before that tyme there was neuer any prohibition to the contrary: a noble argument and worthy of the maker.

A thing
may be
lawfull in
one place
which is
not in an-
other.

96. And of this it doth proceed, that this thing is lawfull in the East, and not in the West; because that the permission is graunted to that Church and not to the other: and euery man liuing vnder the lawes of one certaine Church, some permission by the whole may be graunted to that part, which is not graunted to the rest, as in France for some Saturdayes after Christmas it is permitted to eate flesh, which permission is not in other Countreys: and therefore in that Countrey I may lawfully eate, and in others I should sinne mortally by eating, because I do violate the contrary precept which forbids me to eate and there doth bind, vnles sicknes or some other like necessityes do excuse me. But sayth this feely man: *Do the Ghospells or lawes of equity alter according to the foure corners of the world?* No, gentle Syr, nor is your marriage, God be prayled, yet become the Ghospell: for not one of the foure Euangelists, or any other giue testimony for your wiues; neither haue you brought any one place out of any one of them to that purpose, which

which in such penury of yours had not beene admitted, if any could haue beene found to fauour you, as I suppose.

97. And for lawes of equity, who seeth not that different Kingdomes haue also their different statuts and manner of proceeding, either in criminall or ciuill causes? And if vnder that title you include the law of marriage of Priests, it was so far from all equity, as I neuer knew any made with more iniquity, or wherein one Parliament did more fight with another, and both so tossed the law of God as a tennis ball, now banding it to one part, now beating it backe againe to the other, as in this; and the other five articles decreed by King Henry the eight together with this in the year 1540. though repealed by his son King Edward in the very first yeare of his reigne.

The law of the marriage of Clergy men was no law of equity but of great iniquity.

98. For in King Henryes Statute it is sayd that the King in his owne person came into the Court of Parliament, and there like a Prince of most high prudence, and no lesse learning, opened and declared many things of high learning and great knowledge touching six articles, for which godly study, paine, and trauell the whole Parliament, that is the Lords spiritual, temporal, and commons, thought themselves bound to thanke the King, and intreat that they might be enacted by authority of the Parliament, as they were: the first was the real presence by transubstantiation: the second that the Communion vnder both kindes by the law of God was not necessary. 3. that Priests after their orders taken might not marry by the same law. 4. that vows of chastity ought to be obserued by the same

The statute of six Articles anno 1540.

law . 5. that private Masses by the same law also were to be allowed . 6. that auricular confession was to be reteyned . These were then out of the high learning and great knowledge of K. Henry determined, and severall penaltyes imposed vpon the transgressours .

A notable
example
of our
Parlamē-
tal incon-
stancy .

Fine simi-
litudes .

Horace .

99. There had passed but six whole years, when the same Metropolitane, Prelats, & noble men, in the same place vnder a King, who by reason of his yongage, and feeble constitution, could not be of high prudence or learning, and his vncle the Protectour, who also for want of both prudence and learning, could declare nothing of any great iudgment or knowledge, the same was reuerfed, and made voyde, and of no effect, with this similitude premised to the decree which well suted the matter in hand : *that as in a tempest or winter one course, or garment is conuenient, in calme or warme weather a more liberall race, or lighter garment, both may and ought to be vsed &c.* So these good Taylers could shape out new fashions of sayth for all tymes, in the rough winter of K. Henryes raigne one forme was cut out ; in the calme sommer of King Edward another; in King Henryes tyme the best course was to go fair & soft,

— *Velut qui lunonis sacra ferrent,*
To flatter the King, to admire euery thing he sayd, as proceeding from *high learning, and great knowledg,* to thanke him for his godly study, paine and travell, to desire that all might be enacted which he had deuised : but vnder his sonne hauing gotten the reynes into their owne hands, the tymes were altered, and they meant to runne a more liberall race, to giue the bridle to all loose liberty,

liberty, and hereticall nouelty, & therefore they began to laugh at Kings *Henryes* paynes, & learning, and to esteeme him not only a very foole, but the wickedest man aliue, in forcing them, and in them all the land to subscribe, imbrace, acknowledge, & reuerence that to be according to the law of God, which in their iudgments they thought to be quite opposite, contrary, and repugnant to that law, and so by that Parlament were declared to be repealed, viterly deuoyd, & of none effect.

100. And not to digresse from this particular controuerſy, ſome fix yeares after the former Parlament, notwithstanding that K. *Henry* had declared many things of high learning and great knowledge, touching the marriages of Priests, and had deliuered in plaine termes that Priests after the order of Priesthood receaued might not marry by Gods law: yet did his sonne by another act declare, that all Priests or Ecclesiasticall persons *by the law of God* might lawfully marry: and all contrary decrees are repealed and made voyd. And what will you say to such Parlamets? one sayth that by the law of God Priests may not marry; another, that by the law of God it is lawfull for them to marry: and yet this law of God is but one law, and cannot be repugnant to it selfe: and it may be noted how far *Cranmer* dispensed with his owne conscience, dissembled in Religion, and preuaricated in this K. *Henryes* Parliament, who hauing his own Trull, & deli- ring openly to enioy her, yet for feare of the King, not only kept her close, but so also colloqued with the rest, or rather aboue the rest, being the chief

Gods law
in two
parlamets
made to
affirme
two con-
tradictio-
ries.

Cranmers
deep dissi-
mulations

fell in place and authority in that Court vnder the King, as he not only commended his high learning and knowledge, but did also crouch & creep to haue that confirmed which in his hart he did abhorre, and vpon the first occasion offered did vtterly condemne. I see he could make his garment to serue the tyme indeed, his horse to trauell according to the weather. O constant Prelate, and worthy founder of our new English Gospell!

101. These then, M. Hall, being the first Taylers that framed this wedding garment of yours, and ranke riders who taught you to runne this liberall race, to let loose the reynes to all carnall delights, and yet still to keep the name of spirituall Pastours, you haue little cause to call it the law of equity, which in the first making condemned the makers of so great inconstancy, and faythles leuitie, as you haue heard; but let vs follow you further in your demands. Doth God, say you, make difference between *Greece* and *England*?

Ecclesiastical and
civill laws
may be
altered by
such as are
in suprem
authority
in the one
and other
causes.

I answer you that he doth, and if they make an ill law in *Greece*, you are not bound to follow it in *England*, but to eschew and auoyd it: or in altered by case they be dispensed in some Ecclesiastical law such as are by supreme Ecclesiastical authority, *propter duritiam cordis eorum*, and to auoyd a further inconuenience, it will not presently follow that you or yours in *England* may do the same: as our Soueraigne in *England* can exempt a man from any law in particuler, & it will not I hope presently follow, that all other subiects may clayme the same priuiledg: againe if his Maiesty make some fauourable and beneficial law for all his subiects in

in generall, which the Emperour in *Bohemia* would not allow; were it not a wise question to demand: Doth God make difference betweene King *James* and the Emperour *Matthias*? between *Prage* & *London*: *England* & *Bohemia*? These things *M. Hall* which depend on Ecclesiasticall or Civil lawes, may be dispensed or altered when the occasions are very vrgent, by them who haue supreme authority in the one and other Courts.

102. Your last demand well bewrayeth your ignoance, and sheweth that you want the first grounds or principles of Philosophy, or els you would neuer haue framed so impertinent a *M. Hall* question: *If it be lawfull say you, why not euery where?* ignorant if vnlawfull, why is it done any where? I see now that demand. we must take heed, for this argument *cornu ferit*, yet shall I with your leaue shew it to be much weaker then you take it for, yea to be altogether loose and impertinent, and it may be answered in one word, that such things as of their owne nature are intrinsically euill, as to kill, steale, lye, slander and the like, are vnlawfull in all tymes, places and persons: but this is not so in other things, which being of their owne nature and intrinsicall essence indifferent, are made vnlawfull by some positive law to the contrary: and that either diuine, as is working on the Sabbath day in the old law, mariag of more wiues at once, and the like, which therefore are vnlawfull because they are prohibited, but yet so as that they may by God the maker of them be dispensed in, as not ill of their owne intrinsicall nature, but as they haue annexed his prohibition & restraint: or Ecclesiasticall, as of breaking of fasts

commanded, of neglecting feasts, or omitting the ordinary ceremonies, rites, or ordinances of the Church: for as all men are children of this Mother, so they ought to obey her precepts, and no private authority can infringe which by so generall and publicke is imposed: or els finally *Ciuill*, for if the King command that none beare armes in the night tyme, that they carry not corne to other Countreyes, that they transpose no cloath, or the like; these things of their owne nature free, are now made necessary by the ciuill command of the Prince: and as he may dispense in the one, so may the supreme spirituall Pastour in the other: the one as chiefest in ciuill, the other in Ecclesiasticall caules.

M. Halle
confuse
hudling
of thinges
togetha-
ther.

Matt. 18.

103. This difference M. Hall not obseruing (as he is dull in distinguishing) confoundeth & huddlith vp things togethaer, and supposeth either all things to be of their own nature good or euill, or commanded a like by God for all to obserue, which is not so: for some things are left to the temporall Magistrate, others to the spirituall to dispose: and as Kings are to be obeyed according to S. Peter, so also the Church according to our Sauour: and as to disobey the King in ciuill matters is capitall, so it is schismaticall not to obey the Church: and as he is held a traytour who rebelleth against the King, so he an Heathen or Publican who will not heare the Church: and hence it commeth, that as one King is of equall authority with another, and so may recall any edict, proclamation, decree, or iniunction made by his predecessours, so likewise may one supreme Pastour, when yrging necessity shall require

quire, reuoke, or repeale any Ecclesiasticall law made before his tyme, and that eyther in all, or in part as the nature of the thing shall require, or a Generall Councell determine, or he and his Councell shall thinke expedient: and this prohibition of the marriage of Priests being of this nature, I meane Ecclesiasticall, it may be dispensed for one place, and not for another, and so it may also be lawfull or vnlawfull in one place, and not in the other, as the prohibition or dispensation in different places doth either bind or excuse. The title which M. Hall giues vs of *Romish Church* I passe ouer as not worthy of reflection, this poore man must needs shew his nature and be contemptuous in all things.

104. At length he commeth to the conclusion of this his obiection out of the *Trullan* Councell, which is that it giueth leaue to all to marry: *This sacred Conncell* (sayth he) *doth not only vniuersally approue this practise (with paine of deposition to the game-layers) but mouches it for a decree Apostolicall. Iudge now whether this one authority be not inough to weigh downe a hundred petty Conuenticles, and many legions (if there had beene many) of priuate contradictions: thus for seauen hundred yeares you find nothing but open freedome.* So he. Which words and others the like, when I read in this man, it seemeth to me that a problematicall question may be made, whether he be able to speake the truth or not, for hitherto he hath still beene taken tardy: and heere in these words are two or three vntruths and these radiant: but not to bring that into dispute (for perhaps if he had a better cause he would be able by better meanes to defend it) I rather doe interpret

The cause why M. Hall doth multiply so many vntruths.

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these his frailties to proceed from the necessity of
the matter, then from any impossibility in the
man himselfe.

105. We haue before shewed this Councel
not to be sacred, and the approuance not so vni-
uersall as M. Hall maketh it: for whereas in the
very beginning they oppose themselues to the
Latin Church, and make decrees only for the
Church of Greece, it cannot be sayd to be vni-
uersall for al, which only includeth but one part
with the exception mentioned of the other: nei-
ther could a particuler Patriarke make a law in
a Nationall Synod to repeale another in vse vnder
his equall, ouer whome he had no iurisdiction,
much lesse to recall the lawes of his Superi-
our, & disallow their practise: for if *par in parem*
non habet potestatem, much lesse had the Patriarke
of Constantinople ouer the Bishops of Rome, who (I
meane the Patriarke) was alwayes his inferi-
our, and subordinate vnto him, and so in the very
Canon it is sayd: *Nos antiquum Canonem &c.* we
observing the ancient Canon &c. So as they re-
strain this liberty to that Church & themselues
alone, without any determination prejudiciall
to the other, which had not beene if they had v-
niuersally without distinction of places or per-
sons allowed this freedom.

The Trul-
Jan Coun-
cell neuer
permitted
that al the
Clergy of
the East
might
marry.

106. But when you talke of vniuersally ap-
proving this practise, which practise do you meane
M. Hall? is it that you mentioned a little before,
that all the Clergy of the East might marry? if so (and
so you must take it, or els you talke at randome)
then againe I must tell you that this your Synod
wholy disalloweth that custome, & permitteth
no

no Clergy man to marry; for although it permitted some married men to ascend so high as to be made Priest, yet it neuer permitted any Clergy man to stoop so low, as to be made a husband, neither did it euer auouch that basenes in any Clergy man to be a decree Apostolical, & therefore if with better attention you read that Councell, you shall find it to be as I say, & moreover the paine of deposition to the gainfayers to be only against such as denied the vse of their wiues to Priests married before their ordinatiō, and out of the tyme excepted by the Synod.

107. Neither doth the name of an Apostolical decree, where there is nothing els but the name only, much trouble vs: for if the decree mentioned be taken in the right sense, it maketh not against vs: if in the sense which M. Hall pretendeth it ouerthroweth the Councell, and so he pulleth down with one hand, what he had built vp with the other: for if for any decree the Councell graunt the carnall knowledge of wiues to be *Apostolical*, it is for that which M. Hall cyted before, that no Bishop, Priest, or Deacon, shal put away his wife vpon pretence of Religion, vpon paine of deposition: if this be the decree, then I demand why the Councell decreeth against the same? For heer Bishops are allowed their wiues, which in the *Trullan* Synod by two decrees are debarred from them: either M. Hall will allow the decree, and then he condemneth his *sacred* Councell that defines against it, or will sticke to the Councell, and then he must condemne the decree not to be Apostolical, as containing in it seeme to an euident error condemned by so *sacred*, so ge-
The Councell of I Trullum gainsayth the Apostles constitutions euen in that thing on which it would relye.

108. Morcouer if he follow the Councell,
 The trul- whereas the Bishops assembled therfore allow-
 lan Coun- ed marryed Priests to enioy their wiues because
 cell ouer- of the Apostolicall decree, & yet condemne that
 throwne very decree in the first branch of Bishops, and
 by it selfe decree against it, what ground was this to build
 in the matter of vpon, and to contradict the Roman Church? &
 Priests what drowly decree was this which is groun-
 marriage. ded on that which is by the very Councell it self
 contradicted? can one and the selfe same Canon
 of the Apostles be a warrant for the wiues of
 Priests, and not Canonically for the wiues of Bi-
 shops, when as in your opinion the one no lesse
 the the other is alike to be allowed without any
 distinction, limitation, or exception at all? O
 how feeble is falshood that thus falleth of it self,
 and is ouerthrowne by the same grounds on
 which it would seeme to stand. M. Halls chiefe
 ground is this Synod, the warrant for the Sy-
 nodes definition is the Apostles Canon, and the
 Apostles Canon ouerthroweth the Synod: this
 is the maze or labyrinth of errour, and heerunto
 all M. Halls florishes, brags, and assurances of the
 weight of this authority ouerbearing a hundred
 Conuenticles, and many legions of priuate contradictions
 are brought: for this heauy weight is as light as
 a fether, contradicteth it selfe, was condemned
 by the Church, and more hurteth then helpeth
 the cause for the which it is brought.

109. And truely the triumphant conclusion
 of the authority of this seditious assembly that it
 weigheth downe a hundred petty conuenticles,
 and many legions of priuate contradictions, is
 worthy

worthy of M. Halls wit and learning, and resembles that Poets prayse of Epicurus the Philosopher in Lactantius,

Lactant. l.
3. diuin.
Instit. cap.
17.

Hic ille est

*Qui genus humanum ingenio superauit, & omnes
Resinxit stellas, exortus vt aetherius sol.*

This is he who for wit surpassed all other men and obscured the stars, rising like the heavenly sunne: by reason of which immoderate and vn-Immoderated prayse that author sayth that he could rate pray-
neuer read the verses without laughter: Non deses where
Socrate aut Platone hoc dicebat qui velut Reges habentur there was
Philosophorum, sed de homine quosano & vigente nullus a- no desert
ger ineptius delirauit: itaq; Poeta inanis leonis laudi- or cause.
bis murem non ornauit, sed obruit & obtruit. He sayd
not this of Socrates or Plato, who are esteemed the
Princes or chiefest of the Philolophers, but of a
man then whome being sound and in health, no
sicke man euer more foolishly doted: therfore the
sottish Poet did not so much set forth a mouse
with a lyons prayse, as ouerwhelme and crush
him in peeces. So he, and so say I no lesse fitly
of M. Hall then he of Lucretius, that he commen-
deth not the Councell of Neece, Constantinople the
first, Ephesine, or of Chalcedon, or such like general
Councels, but a bastard Conuenticle not worth
the naming, and with the false titles of vniuersal,
sacred, authority weighing down a hundred conuenticles, &
legions of priuate contradictions, with the like, beco-
uereth but a mouse vnder a lyons skin, and a
skar-crow of clouts with Achilles armour.

110. But the man if I mistake him not hath
a further fetch in this matter, and will I feare
me shew vs a tricke of legier-du-maine, and by
crafty

The reason why M. Hall giueth so great vnderdeserued praise vnto the Trullan Conuenticle, crafty conueyance cast that off by contempt, which he saw that by learning he could not answer: for hauing perused in *Bellarmino* so many Councils cyted of all kingdomes, so many authorities in him & *Coccinus*, for clearing this controuersy, as euincing the Catholike truth, refelled his nouelty, and faythfully deliuered the practise of all tymes, places, authors, Churches, Synods; this man sayth of his bastard Council alone: *Iudge now whether this one authority be not enough to weigh down a hundred petty conuenticles, & many legions (if ther had beene many) of priuate contradictions*, so as with this Gentleman al Councils you shal cyte against him, though neuer so ancient, al Fathers though neuer so graue, all historyes though neuer so authenticall, shall be but *petty conuenticles*, and *priuate contradictions*: and this counterfeite *Trullan* Council shall be *generall, sacred*, and of authority to weigh them all downe whatsoeuer.

M. Hall only praiseth them who can pleasure him, and dispraiseth the rest.

III. This is a short maistry, and easy conquest by giuing more authority then it deserueth vnto one to make riddance of all the rest, and to accept nothing for prooffe, but that your selfe list to allow. M. Hall in this saw the Fathers and Councils to be against him, & that for one broken allegation of the *Trullan* Conuenticle, we could bring a whole army of more ancient, more authenticall records, and for three Fathers of the foure first hundred yeares, though not one of all the three make for him, the testimonyes of al the Fathers of these ages, which he saw at length layd downe in *Coccinus* and *Bellarmino*, but durst not behold them, nor yet the answers to his owne arguments in the Cardinal; only he pray-
seth

seth such as himselfe produceth, and letteth them out with honourable titles, as Paphnutius a virgin, famous for holynes, famous for miracles: S. Athanasius a witnes past exception, who may serue for a thousand histories till his age: S. Huldericus B. of Auspurg both learned and vehement &c. but for all the rest that be against him, they make but priuate contradictions, & so if they bring his cause no helpe, he casteth the all off with a Writ of,

— Nil tecum attuleris ibis Homere foras.

112. Neither is M. Hall the first authour of this inuention, but scholler rather and follower of M. Iohn Iewell, who made and vnmade Fathers at his pleasure, as they stood for or against him: in citing once the schismaticall Councell of Basil for himselfe, he sayth the Fathers of the Councell of Basil say &c. but when a far more ancient Councell was cyted against him by D. Harding, then were all these Fathers ignorant men, & lead away with the blindnes of that age: when S. Bernard in his books of Consideration to Eugenius, declaimeth against the vices of the Court of Rome, then is he holy Saint Bernard: but when he sayth in the same worke, that the Pope is for power Peter, for his anointing Christ, the supreme Pastour of al Pastours, then is he but bare Bernard the Abbot: when S. Gregory the Great rebuketh the proud title of Iohn of Constantinople stiling himselfe vniuersall Bishop, then he is holy S. Gregory, but when he writeth of the miracles of Saints, of purgatory, and other the like Catholike articles, then he is Father Gregory the dreamer: Origen if he speake against M. Iewell hath presently many errours and heresies, but when he speaketh for him, then he is old Father Origen, and M. Iewell will

M. Iewells making and vnmaking of the Fathers.

See the Returne of vntu-
truths of D. Stapleton art. 4.

222 *An Answer to M. Halles Apology,*
will be his white sonne.

M. Hall
submits
all autho-
rity taken
from an-
tiquity to
his owne
tribunall.

113. So if one Father speake for M. H. II, be
is past exception, and shall serue for a thousand, if ano-
ther though of later tymes, he must answer all ca-
uills, satisfy all readers, and convince all not willfull aduer-
saries: it a schismaticall Councell though neuer
so base, neuer so much branded fauour his mar-
riage, it is generall, sacred, and shal proclaime in
spight of all contradiction: but if we for one or
two Fathers misunderstood, as I haue shewed,
bring the whole torrent and vniforme conspi-
ring agreement of them all, it shall make against
him but priuate contradiction: if we all edge
the Councells gathered in all the coasts and
corners of Europe, Asia, and Affricke, they are all but
petty Conuenticles, because M. Ioseph Hall as an arbiter
chosen not by man, or of man, but by some grea-
ter power, defines all to be so, and will haue all
Councells, Fathers, historyes, records to be al-
lowed or disallowed, accepted or refused, good
or bad, authentical or counterfeit, as it shall like
himselſe, which supereminent authority and in-
dependence if you graunt him not, all his argu-
ments fall to ground: and if you graunt him,
who will not pittie your folly, and thinke you
worthily deceaued, who leaue the brasen pillars
of truth, sanctity, antiquity, to leane on the bro-
ken and rotten reed of this seely simple Minister,
in learning very little, lesse in sanctity, and on-
ly in his owne opinion and imagination great?

114. He who will not be deceaued in iud-
gement, must not weigh the matters controuer-
ted by the scales of partiall affection towards ei-
ther part: for that were to make truth subiect

to priuate fancy: where two are in sure at law the one against the other, if the Iudge be byazed by one party, and will pronounce sentence for him without so much as hearing the aduersary speake, as *Seneca* in *Medea* well noteth, the sentence may fall out to be right, but the iudgment was wrong. He that will iudge vprightly must beare an vpright mind, not inclining to the right or the left: for truth is compared by *Cassian* to a straight line, and as he who walketh on a rope cannot stand or go, if he leane to one side or other, so neither he find the truth who hath ryed his affection to any particuler, as without further discussion will take all for good, which he on the warrant of his word shall suggest: in this question if you draw your opinion from *M. Hall* and me, and that so far as neither of vs both may be belieued, but according to the proof we shall bring, the truth soone will shew herselfe in her natie colours, & you shall know where to find & follow her: but then you must not let *M. Halls* bare word make white blacke, nor blacke white, nor his sayings be an *αὐλὸς ἱσθα*, and able to make a Conuenticle a Synod, a seditious Assembly a generall Councell, or his reiection bring disparagement to any true Councell, vnles it be seconded by better authority of more ancient and sincere writers. And the like of myne to him which indifferency is so equall, as more cannot be desired, or let *M. Hall* if he can propose it, and I bind my selfe to imbrace it.

Private
affections
do hinder
vpright
iudgmēt.

Cassian
collat. 23.
cap. 9.

115. To know then whether Councells be true and lawfull to be admitted or refused, dependeth vpon all the circumstances of their calling,

A necessary
rule.

ling, & determining according to the analogy of
sayth belicued and deliuered by the Church: such
Councells as haue not swarued from this rule,
nor haue beene noted of errour, schisme, or fa-
ction, nor contradicted by the writers of that
tyme, and succeeding Councells, are to be held
for good and lawfull, because they are knowne
to agree with the common, vniuersall and Ca-
tholike beliefe, and that spirit which knitteth al
the members of this mysticall body togeather, &
if in any thing they had swarued, they had not
past without due checke & reprehension, which
is much in this matter to be pōdered: for whereas
M. Hall bringeth but one poore petty conuenti-
cle, and painteth it out like *Esops* Daw with ma-
ny stolne fethers to make it seeme a fayre bird, I
haue by the authours of that tyme disproued the
same as schismaticall, & of no credit: let M. Hall
shew the same in the Councells produced by vs
to the contrary, and he shall do somewhat, let
him name the authour that condemned, the
histories that mention them to be schismaticall,
other Councells that reiected them and the like:
but if he cannot do this, then must our Coun-
cells be allowed, their authority sacred, their te-
stimonies irrefragable, & the least of them able
to ouerbeare millions of the *Trullan*, or such like
exorbitant conspiracies.

xx6. And this supposed which by the laws
of equiry cannot be denyed, we bring for this
truth, I meane against the marriage of Clergy
men, Councels gathered in all the parts of Chri-
stendome, all called and kept within the first
seauen hundred yeares after Christ, that M. Hall
if

if yet any sparke of grace be in him, may with blushing recall his wordes with which he concludeth this matter saying: for *seauen hundred years* A shame-les asserti-
you find nothing but open freedome, to wit for all Bishops, Priests, & Deacons to take wiues, which is so grosse an vntruth, as it may serue for seauen hundred together; for all the Fathers he hath brought, are either against him, or corrupted shamefully by him, and this Councell is of no prooffe, or if it were, it maketh far more for vs, then for him: and whence then commeth this *freedome*? in what places and persons? in what Church or Prouince? for I am sure that neither in *Asia Europe*, and *Africke* hath it had this continuance and *freedome*. I feare *M. Hall* in the end wil runne to *Terra Virginea, Guiana, Chyna, Mexico*, or some other regions vnder the Antarticke Pole to find it out.

117. For to begin with *Asia* vnder which I Asia;
include all the Greeke Church, that hath yielded vs against *M. Hall* three Councells, two prouinciall, one generall: the first held at *Ancyra* in *Galatia*, wherein it is defined: *Quicumq; Diaconi constituti, in ipsa constitutione testificati sunt &c.* What Deacons soeuer that are ordered, it in their ordination they did testify and say, that they must marry wiues, because they could not remaine in single life, if such shall afterwards marry, let them remayne in the Ministry, because it is graunted them by the Bishop, but if any say nothing & in their ordination they are receaued with condition so to remaine, if they after wards do marry, let them cease, or be deposed from their Deaconish. So the Councell: and by Deacons to marry

Corcil.
Ancyra,
Can. 10.

The vowry, as *Binus* wel noteth, are to be vnderstood such of chastity as were perforce made Deacons, as some were also where no exception is made annexed vnto orders, so in the same manner made Priests (though they neuer had this permission) as before I have shewed out of *S. Augustine*: and if such Deacons did not expresse this exception, by force of the order they were held vncapable of marriage, as hauing annexed vnto it *sacrum votum*, an implied vow, of perpetuall chastity. And if in Deacons, much more in Priests, Bishops &c.

Francis
Godwin
in his Ca-
talogue
pag. 136.
and 137.

118. *M. Francis Godwin* in his *Catalogue* of English Bishops, amongst other his mittakings, attributeth this Canon to the second Councell of *Arles* in *France*, in the yeare 326. but in that Councell it is not extant, nor was it euer lawfull in the *Latin Church* especially of *Europe*, as far as I can find, after the taking of holy orders to marry: and the note he addeth, that *Resistus* Bishop of *London* was marryed, needeth more prooffe then his bare affirmation, vnles perhaps he liued apart from his wife, as the *Trullan* Councell after ordeyned, and *S. Gregory* of *Towers* sheweth to haue bene the Ecclesiasticall custome before: for no Church either *Greeke* or *Latin* euer permitted Bishops to accompany with their wiues, but commanded them to liue apart from them in perpetuall continency, and the very first Canon of this Councell is: *Assumi aliquem ad Sacerdotium non posse in vinculo coniugij constitutum, nisi fuerit promissa conuersio*. One cannot be made Priest in the band of wedlocke, vnles he promise *conuersion*, that is, to abstaine from his wife, liue apart from her, and vow chastity. Which explication of the sense and meaning of the

Can. 1.

the word *conuersion* is warranted by two other Councils, to wit, the first of *Arausica*, where of *Arausica* Deacons it is sayd: *Non ordinantur coniugati, nisi. an. 440* *qui prius conuersionis proposito professi fuerint casti. atem. 440 c. 10* Let none be ordered Deacons, but such as haue first of purpose or intention of conuersion professed or vowed chastity: and againe in the Council of *Agatha*: *Si coniugati inueniunt consensurus ordinari, etiam vxorum voluntas ita requirenda est, vt so. Concil. quodrate mansionis cubiculo, religionis promissa, postea qui anno 500. pariter conuersi fuerint ordinentur.* If any married young men (so they be not vnder the age of 25. yeares, for such are excluded by the same Canon) shall agree together to take orders, the intention of their wives is so first to be required that they separate themselues from the chamber of their husbands, promise to liue chaste, and then let such as haue made their conuersion together be ordered. So these Councils, and so little freedome did they allow in this matter.

119. The second Council is of *Nicaea* in *Cappadocia*, which no lesse then the former was held before the Council of *Nice*, and in the very first Canon it is decreed: *Presbyter si vxorem duxerit ordine suo moueatur.* Let a Priest if he marry a wife be deposed. Is this the open freedome you meane *M. Hall*, that possessed the world for seauen hundred years? haue Ecclesiasticall men no more liberty now in *England*? and indeed this decree is renewed in the *Trullan* Council: so little help can you find of the *Greeke* Church which yet in this seemeth most to fauour you. The third Council is the first of *Nice* celebrated in *Bithynia*, the third Canon whereof I haue

228 *An Answer to M. Hakes Apology*,
before in answering the objection of Paphnu-
sius alleadged, and vrged to this purpose.

120. From *Asia* let vs come to *Africke*,
where this continency was exactly kept, and
there we haue also foure Councils: the second,
third, fourth, and fifth of *Carthage*, defyning for
vs: in the second it is sayd: *Graduisti tres conscrip-*

Ann. 395.
Council.

Carthag. 2.
cap. 2. vide
Council.

African.
sub *Cale-*
stino Can.
37.

Gr. Those three degrees are linked within the
band of chastity by holy orders (Bishops I mean
Priests, and Deacons) for it is expedient that
Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, or those who
are employed about the diuine Sacraments be
chast in all things &c. And to this of the Coun-
cell is added: *Placet, ut in omnibus, & ab omnibus pu-*
dicia custodiatur, qui altari deseruiunt. It pleaseth
the whole Council, that chastity be kept in al,
and of all who serue the altar: so there, & heer
is chastity annexed to Orders, heere are Altars,
heere is consecration by imposition of hands:
and in the third Council the *Ninth* Canon is
confirmed, and such women assigned, as may
dwell with Priests, as their mothers, aunts,
sisters, and the like. In the fourth to Bishops
Priests, Deacons, are added Subdeacons.

Ann. 397.
Council.

Carthag. 3.
cap. 17.

121. In the fifth is this concluding Ca-
non: *Cum de quorundam Clericorum, quamuis erga vi-*
cores proprias incontinentia referretur &c. Whereas
relation was made of the incontinency of Cler-
gy men, although with their owne wiues, it
was decreed Bishops, Priests, and Deacons ac-
cording to the former decrees to liue continent-
ly from their wiues, which vnles they performe
let them be remoued from all Ecclesiasticall
function;

Ann. 398.
Council.

Carthag. 5.
cap. 3.

function: other Clergy men are not to be forced heereunto, but the custome of euery particular Church is to be obserued. So the Council. So as heere we haue an expresse restraint from the vse of wines, and this *freedom* dreamed of by our English Clergy, whiles they are awake, was neuer so much as dreamed of by them in their sleep, or els let *M. Hall* tell vs what now we say more for our selues, then these in the purer tymes of the primitive Church, as *M. Jewell* calleth the Fathers of the first six hundred yeares, haue sayd. for vs.

M. Hall's freedom for all Clergy men to marry neuer dreamed of by the Fathers.

122. In Europe we haue many more: where as the Christian faith hath still continued, so hath it in all points by many Councils bene most confirmed: and to leaue our Nation, of which I shall speake in the end of this letter, in our neighbour Church of France, we haue no lesse then fourteen Councils within the compass of 700. hundred yeares to confirme this point, one of Arles, one of Arasica, one of Angiers, two of Towers, foure of Orleance, one of Agatha, Coccius one of Aruerne, one of Masson, one of Lions, & one of Challon. The wordes of all which were to long for my intended breuity to set down: the learned may read them in Coccius at large, only I will abridge the summe of that they haue determined: for by that you will be able to determine whether this chymericall liberty were euer in practise in that Countrey.

Europe. 14 French Councils for the single life of Clergy men. The summe of the Decrees of the French Councils.

123. The summe of their decrees is: 1. That no married man can be made Priest, vnles he leaue his wife, so the Councils of (a) Agatha, (b) Arles, and (c) Orleans: he must take her for euer after as

(a) Cap. 16. (b) Arles. (c) Orleans.

(a) Cap. 12. his sister, so of (a) *Arverno*, (b) *Towers*, and (c) *Md.*
 (b) *Turon.* son: if ever any Priest know his wife againe, he
 a. cap. 21. can neither offer sacrifice, or minister Sacraments;
 (c) Cap. 12. so of (a) *Towers*: he is to be deposed, so of (a) *Or.*
 (a) *Turon.* *Isais*, and (b) *Aransia*: by carnall knowledge of
 a. cap. 2. his wife he committeth incest, is to be deposed,
Turon. 7. so of (c) *Arverno*. Moreover not only Priests, but
 cap 20.
 (a) *Aurel.* Deacons also are not to be ordered, vnles they
lian. 4. c. 4. vow chastity, so the Councell of (d) *Aransia*: if
 (b) Cap. 21. after they do marry they are to be (c) excommu-
 (c) Cap. 12. nicated, (f) to be deposed, so of *Orleans*; and the
 (d) Cap. 22. same in the third Councell of the same place is
 (e) *Aurel.* extended to Subdeacons, who if they know
 3. cap. 7. their wiues are likewise to be deposed, and the
 (f) *Aurel.* Bishops dissembeling their faults are also to be
 a. cap. 8. punished: lastly the 3. Canon of the *Nicen* Cou-
Aurel. 9. cell is renewed, that none haue other women
 cap. 2. about them, but their mothers, aunts, sisters,
 Cap. 3. and the like, so the Councell of *Angiers* in *Berri-*
 4. cap. 17. *in Anno 453.* and the second of *Orleans*: that
 (b) *Turon.* their wiues who haue vowed chastity living
 a. cap. 10. in the house with them, haue their beds and
 c. 11. chambers apart, vnder paine of excommunicati-
 (c) *Lugdun.* on, so the Councell of (a) *Orleans*, (b) *Towers*,
 a. cap. 2. (d) *Cabils* (c) *Lyon*, and (d) *Shallon*: other Councells of this
uen. cap. 2. countrey I might produce, but for that they are
 after seauen hundred yeares of *M. Halls* preten-
 ded free liberty, I do pretermitt them.

9. Spanish 274. In *Spain* there are nine Councells that
 Councells haue decreed the single life of the Clergy, one
 for the and that most ancient of *Eliberis*, one of *Seuill*,
 single life one of *Gerunda*, and six of *Toledo*, which being
 of Clergy the Metropolis or chiefe City of all that king-
 men. dome, the Archbishops haue still endeaoured
 co

to make it more famous by the frequent calling of Councells thither, and these Councells so agree with the French, as they may seem to speak with one mouth, as they were indeed guyded by one spirit, who directed them all, and they do specially insist on this, that no women dwell with men in holy orders, but such as haue beene often mentioned in other Councells, so of (a) Toledo the second, the first of (b) Senill: that (a) Toledo they vow chastity, so the 4. of (c) Toledo, and the eight (d) of the same place, where the Canon sayth: *Quosdam Sacerdotes & Ministros obliuiscetes maiorum ac veterum consuetudinum, aut uxorum aut quatuordecim; seminatum immunda societate, & execrabilis contagione turpari &c.* They had vnderstood certain Priests, and other Clergy men forgetting their ancestours, and old decrees to be defiled with the impure company, and execrable contagion of their owne wiues, and other women. So there. And this sauiours little of open freedome for all Ecclesiasticall persons to marry, or enioy their wiues as you see, & these Fathers were so far from thinking any impossible necessity to be in the vowes of Priests, as our impure Ministers do teach, as they held the returne to their former wiues to be a defiling impurity, and execrable contagion.

123. Furthermore in the 9. Councell of Toledo, there is a Canon, which if it were in practice in England, would much coole this feruent lust of our wanton Ministers: for it is determined that from the Bishop to the Subdeacon, if any by detestable wedlock being in that degree should beget children, that the Fathers of these children

A cooling children should be put vnder Canonick Censures, and the children borne of that polluted copulation should inherit nothing of their Fathers goods, but for terme of life be seruants of that Church, or Churches wherof their Fathers were Priests, and neuer to enioy more freedome. So as the Father was deposed, the child was a slaue, such was the liberty which euen within the seauen hundred years possessed these parts.

The decree of the Councell of Eliberis. 126. I may not pretermitt the Councell of Eliberis, the first that was euer held in spaine, in the yeare 313. in which ancient Synod is this decree, which may seeme rather to be made in the Councell of Trent, such vnity and vniformity there is in doctrine, manner of speech, and practise of the primitiue Church with this of our tyme, of that Councell with ours, and no lesse repugnance and contradiction with that of our aduersaryes: for thus they decree: *Placuit in totum prohibere Episcopus, Presbyteris, Diaconis, & Subdiaconis positus in ministerio abstinere se à coniugibus suis, & non generare filios: quod quicumq; fecerit ab honore Clericatus exterminetur.* It seemed good to the

**Council.
Elbert.
cap. 33.**

α Council, altogether to forbid Bishops, Priests,
α Deacons & Subdeacons appointed for the ministry of the Church, to abstayne from their wiues, and not to beget children: which whoeuer begets, let him be deposed from the honour of the Clergy. So these Fathers. And this testimony in the iudgment of any that hath any iudgment left him, is able to ouerweigh ten thousand *Trullan Conuenticles*, being for tyme far before it, not made in schisme, neuer controlled,

led, neuer condemned in this point; nor shal M.
Hall euer be able to shew me that euer in *Spain*
his imaginary *freedome* was tolerated, much lesse
permitted in that Clergy.

127. In *Germany* within the prescript of this
tyme were no Councils kept, that people being
not wholly reclayned to the Christian faith,
vntill some yeares after by the worthy endea-
uours of S. *Boniface* a most renowned Martyr, &
by birth an *English* man, after whos death which
happed in the yeare 754. there was a Councell
kept in that Citty whereof he had beene Arch-
bishop, and to shew that new Church to agree
with the old: they desyned that Priests should
study to preferue perpetuall chastity, and in the
same forbid them to haue any women in their
houses, but such as were allowed by the Canons.
So this new Church lately conuerted to Christ
togaiher with her Christianity imbraced this
purity; and in alleadging the licence graunted
by the Canons, confirmed what we haue pro-
duced of all the former Councils.

*Concil.
Mogunt.
Can. 10.*

128. To conclude with *Italy*, where this
practise euen by the confession of our Aduersa-
ryes hath euer inuiolably beene obserued, and
none can shew at whattyme, in what part, vn-
der what Pope, or Emperour, the contrary cu-
stome was euer in vse, much lesse allowed: in
the *Roman* Councell called soone after the first
appearance of peace in the Christian Church,
to wit, the same yeare with the *Nicen* in *Greece*,
it is defined, that no Subdeacon do marry, or
presume to violate that decree, and if in this
of all sacred orders the lowest and least, perpetuall

*Single life
of Clergy
menal-
ways in
vse in Ita-*

*Chrys. l. 3.
de Sacerdo-
tibus.*

small chastity be required, much more in the other which being of themselves higher, require more eminent purity, chastity, and if it were possible, as *S. Chrysostome* well obserueth, more cleane then is in Cherubim or Seraphim, or any other Angelicall nature: and the same for Deacons and Priests, as *Baronius* noteth, was expressly confirmed in another Councell of *Rome*, held in the thirtieth yeare of the Emperour *Mauritius*, and ninth of *S. Gregory the Great*, in which is this Canon: *Si quis Presbyter, aut Diaconus uxorem duxerit, anathema sit.* If any Priest, or Deacon marry a wife, let him be accursed. So as still curses and not blessings have followed the marriage of Clergy men, euen in this tyme of *M. Hales* prescription.

*A collecti-
on vpon
the pre-
mise.*

229. Wherefore now to end this matter, hauing against the Cōuenticle of *Trullū* brought one and thirty Councils, all more sacred, all more approued, all without any contradiction of these tymes, and ensuing ages more accepted then the Councell of *Trullū*, it will need no great deliberation to resolue, or discourse to iudge, or learning to decide this Controuersy in hand, whether for the space of seauen hundred yeares, there is nothing to be found, but open freedom for all Clergy men to marry, or whether this freedom were debarred: when as all these Councils were held within the compasse of that tyme, which condemne it, & this *Trullan* false Synod, not vntill some yeares after: for all is resolued to this, that for seauen hundred yeares *M. H.* finds not one Councell, or ancient Father (vnto perhaps some lying Heretike) to make

make for him, & we haue all the Fathers with one and thirty Councells against him, so as this poore soule like a naked child without any thing in his hand, commeth forth to fight with a whole army well appointed, and although he be not able to strike a stroke, but must needs be beaten to the ground, and crushed in peeces, yet doth he crake that the victory is his, and that all the mayne army hath defended him, and his cause: what will you say to such madnes?

130. And truly to me he seemeth not to be more mad then blind: for otherwise he would neuer haue proclaimed this *freedom* of 700. years, seeing the very forme of wordes vsed by his owne sacred Synod, doth so strongly withstand his fond collection: for there it is decreed in these wordes: *Qui sunt in sacris coniugia deinceps ex hoc temporis momento firma & stabilia esse volumus.* We will that the marriages of such as be in holy orders from this tyme forward, be firme and valid: for in case this *freedom* had beene before common, neuer doubted of, but acknowledged by all, why did they vse this forme of wordes? why did they say *from this tyme forward*? for why did they name the *tyme forward*, which in all the tyme *backward* had beene still in vse, neuer in question? were it not a ridiculous decree, if it should now by act of Parliament be enacted; & that from this tyme forward the King of England should be reputed to haue title to the Crowne of France, which for almost three hundred years he hath taken and possessed? If he say that the Roman Church withstood this pretended custome, and against that this decree was made, I graunt

M. Hall
ouer-
throwne
by his
owne
grounde
Concil.
Trullan.
cap. 13.

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graunt both the one and the other, and thereof
inferre this *freedom* to be counterfait, as neuer in
vse in the *Latin Church*, and as then the *Roman*
vse contradicted the *Grecian* so doth the French
King now contradi& our Soueraigne about
this title, not permitting any booke to be prin-
ted there, wherein he is stiled *King of France*, and
yet doth not this opposition hinder, but that
such a decree in *England* were foolish: and so is
this in *Greece*, if still they had beene in *free posses-*
sion of their wiues, as they were neuer before
that tyme, when by too much flattering the
Emperours they layd the first foundatiō of their
future schisme, which hath brought them to
that most miserable thraldome in which now
they liue, and may both be an example and ter-
rour of Gods iust reuenge to all others that make
the like attempts.

131. It is pittie M. Hall, that when you
got the Rethoricke lesson in *Cambridge*, you had
not got the Logicke: for in case you had taught
Logicke, you would haue scene the folly and
feeblenes of your inference, & rather haue made
the contrary illation to that which you haue
heere made: for I appeale to all puny Sophisters
in *Cambridge*, whether it be not a better inference
to say: this thing is decreed from this instant,
for the tyme forwards to be obserued, *Ergo* be-
fore it was not in vse, then to dispute as you do
thus: from this instant forward this shall be al-
lowed, *Ergo* alwayes before it was approued.
All the walls and windowes from the Hall to
the Kitchen, may mourne to see an Vniuersity
man to haue so little wit, as to conclude so fond-
ly:

dly: and yet you do much worse, when you argue, that the Trullan false Council allowed married men to be made Priests, Ergo before it was lawfull for Ecclesiasticall men to marry; when as before that tyme it was alwayes vnlawfull, and in that very Councell it is not permitted, but in plaine tearmes prohibited for any Clergy men to marry.

132. This then being so, that this Council maketh not for you, that it contradicteth it self, that it brought in a new law in despite of the Roman Church, that it was not only a prouinci-
all, but a false and schismaticall meeting, that it was neuer allowed, that the Authors were se-
uerely punished by God, as well the Patriarcke as the Emperour, that the chiefe Paſſour condemned it, that your selfe do not vnderstand it; and on the other side, that all the other Synods are beyond exception, sincere, Catholike, law-
full, and authenticall: I may say to M. Hall as S. *Augustinus* did to *Julian* the Pelagian: Vsq; adeo per-
miscuit imis summa longius dies? vsq; adeo tenebra lux, & *cap. vltim.*
lux tenebra esse dicuntur, vt videant *Pelagius*, *Celsius*, *Julianus*, & caci sint *Hilarius*, *Gregorius*, *Ambrosius*?
Hath tract of tyme so confounded all things to-
gether, & turned them vpside downe? is darknes so far forth become light, and light darknes
that the Trullan Councell alone could see, & the others of all *Asia*, *Europe*, and *Affricke* were blinded? And in the precedent booke hauing allcaded
some few Fathers of speciall note, he turneth his speech vnto *Julian*, and sayth as I now
say vnto M. Hall, and therefore put his name *Lib. 1. in*
and errours insteed of *Julians*: *Introduxi te in sancto-* *Julian. c. 4.*

*rum Patrum pacificum honorandumq; conuentum. sit opo-
ra pretiū obsecro te, aspice illos quomodo aspicientes te &c.*

I haue brought you into the peacable and ho-
nourable asseembly of the holy Fathers: I pray
you let me not leele my labour, behold them as
it were beholding you, and meekely and gently
saying vnto you, is it so indeed M. Hall? are we
mainteyners of the marriage of Clergy men? I
pray you, what will you answer them? how
will you looke vpon them? what arguments
will you deuise? what predicaments of *Aristotle*
with which as a sharp disputer that you may as-
saile vs, you desire to be esteemed cūning? what
edge of glosse of your feeble arguments, or leadē
daggers will dare to appeare in their sight?
what weapons of yours wil not fly out of your
hands, and leaue you naked? will you say per-
chance that you haue accused none of them by
name? But what will you do, when they all
shall say vnto you, that it had beene better you
had railed at our names, then at our Religion,
by the merit of which our names are written in
heauen? And a little after: *Iterum te admono ito-*

Did.

*tum rogo, aspice tot ac tales Ecclesia Catholica defensores,
atq; rectores: vide quibus tam grauem tam nefariam irro-*

gaueris iniuriam. Againe I warne you, againe I
intreate you, behold so many and so worthy
defenders, and Gouvernours of the Catholike
Church: see to whome you haue offered this
gricuous and wicked iniury. So *S. Augustine.*

133. And heere to end: if so many lawfull
Councells against one schismaticall, so ancient
against so moderne, so expresse decrees against
one so intricate, as that it maketh more against

our

our Aduersaries then for them, so many holy Bishops against a few seditious and turbulent Prelates, so many Countreys against one Province, yea all *Asia, Europe, and Affrike* against one corner of the world, if the purer ages and Apostolicall cymes against the later, when through the pride of those Princes, Patriarches & people they began to kindle the coles of that whereof now we see the flames, and execrable combustion, be not sufficient to moue M. Hall to looke backe, but that copper if he list shall still be pure good, light darknes, and darknes light, there will be no disputing against such willfull and precipitate pride, and hereticall arrogancy. But others I hope are of a more vpright iudgment, and will not disesteeme so sacred, so constant, so generally receaued authority: to which I might add our owne nationall Synods, but M. Halls method causeth me to put them ouer to another place, and therefore heere I end this Controuersy of the *Trullan Synod*, and therewithall this whole Paragraffe.

The conclusion of all this Trullan Contro-
sy.

*The later Part of M. Halls Letter is examined.
The fiction of S. Vdalricus his Epistle to
Pope Nicholas the first is refused. Gregory
the VII. defended: and witball is declared
the practise of our owne Countrey, even from
the Conuersion vnder S. Gregory. §. 3.*

AS men in their dreames do often conceiue
great wealth, and golden mountaynes
with

Dunns
Pseudo-
martyr a
meere
bundle of
rotten
raggs ill fa-
uouredly
bound to-
gether.

with many prosperous and fortunate euents; that are befallen them, which afterwards prope nothing els, but idle motions of their vnsettled fancy, which being to be directed by reason, is then left to her owne operation, and hauing no determinate obie& or end, produceth strange Chimeras & monsters against nature, to which like Iohn Dunns *Pse-domartyr, nec pes, nec caput vi reddatur forma* (as being a disioynted gall-ma-frey of many things budled vp togeather, whereof no one part or patch agreeth with another) so it seemeth to haue fared with M. Hall, who (like him of *Athens*, that perswaded him selfe that all the ships which came into the haueu were fraught with his goods, & so still fed his mind with ioy of imaginary riches, although neither ships, nor any thing in them appertayned vnto him) not out of reason, but strong phantastical imagination thinketh all Authours to stand for him, and still beateh on this string, that for the first seauen hundred yeares all Priests were in possession of their wiues, & all the world went for him, in full liberty and freedome; when as the quite contrary is so euident, as nothing can be more, so many Fathers, Historyes, Councils, giuing testimony for the truth, as you haue heard: and M. Hall himselfe if yet his reason be returned home after his sleep, and be able to ouerbear his fancy must needs acknowledg, seeing himselfe so destitute of all authority but his owne, or such as is to be regarded no better then his owne, that none at all stand for him in this plea against vs.

2. And truly in respect of M. Hall, little help

help is needfull to rescue him, because he so re-
 sureth himselfe, as his aduersary shall need no
 better weapons to ouerthrow him, then his
 owne words: for euen heere he telleth vs: *That by his
 all the scuffling arose in the eight age, wherein yet this vio-
 lent imposition found many and learned Aduersaries, and
 durst not be obruded at once.* So he, and al in his drea-
 me: for in case he had beene waking, he could
 not but haue knowne, what himselfe wrote be-
 fore out of the Trullan Synod, where the very
 first words of his sacred Canon are: *Quoniam in
 Romana Ecclesia loco Canonis seu Decreti traditum esse Concil.
 cognouimus &c.* For that we haue knowne it deli-
 red in the Roman Church by way of Canon, or
 Decree, that such Deacons or Priests, as are to be
 esteemed worthy of ordering, professe for the
 tyme to come neuer to know their wiues &c.
 Which words alluding no doubt to the former
 Canons, cyted out of the *Latin* Councells, shew
 the continency of Clergy men, to haue beene
 long in vse before that Synod.

3. Wherefore the scuffling if there were any,
 was not as he fancyeth to take away wiues, and
 bring in single life, but the contrary by prefer-
 ring single life, to debarre from marriage, or vse
 of wiues such, as of married men, were made
 Ecclesiasticall. And whereas the Trullan Synod
 contradicted this custome, and in their decree
 against it sayd: that from that day forward such
 as were married before, might keep and know
 their wiues, they brought in a new law, & be-
 gan to scuffle and ruffle for the graunt of that
 which was before forbidden, though yet they
 did shoot short of *M. Halls* butts, and not yield

Q

the

Threevn-
truths in
one short
sentence.

the halte of what he would haue: so as in his afore-
sayd words, are three vntruths. The one that
this scuffling was to bring in the continency of
Clergy men, which was brought in before, and
was neuer out of vse, and this was only to pre-
serue it, being already in possession, against the
violent opposition of incontinent *Greecians*, and
others, who claimed marriage. The second that
this found many and learned aduersaryes: for
against this long and laudable custome of the
single life of Clergy men, none but Heretikes,
or Schismatikes opposed themselves, of whose
wickednes we read much, of their learning no-
thing. The third that it was not obtruded at at
once, but by degrees. Where *M. Hall*? and when?
in the *Latin Church*? So you insinuate by that
you add out of *Pope Gregory* the third, and that
also in his tyme: but tye on this impudency,
which affirms that to be begon by *Gregory* the
third, which by more then thirty Councils
was defyned before his tyme: I cannot but heer
say with *S. Augustine*: *Mirror si in facie hominis tan-*
tum interuallum est inter frontem & linguam, vt in hac
causa frons non comprimat linguam. I wonder if there
be so great distance betweene the forehead and
the tongue, that in this matter the forehead doth
not keep the tongue backe from such overlash-
ing.

August.
lib. 1. in
Julian. c.
3. in fine.

4. And this the more for that in all the re-
simonyes, which he hath raked together to
proue this liberty, and freedome in the first sea-
uen hundred years, he hath not brought one out
of the *Latin Church* but *S. Cyprian* of *Africke*,
whome he maketh to speake that of *Numidicus*,
which

which he neuer thought nor layd : all other his M. Hall
 allegations are of the Greeke Fathers of the Greek could find
 Church, and for defect of Latin Fathers, he stuf- no Latin
 feth his paper with the names, and authorities Fathers of
 of Panormitan, Caietan, Gratian, Pius secundus, and the primi-
 other late writers : and yet heere, as though all tine
 the Latin Fathers and Church, no lesse then the Church
 Greekes had ioyntly conspired in this controuer- for the
 sy, he speaketh of the violent imposition, and marriage
 obrusion of this law, as though that Gregory the of Ecclesi-
 third first of all by little and little would haue stical per-
 brought it into the Church, but was afraid to sons.
 be too bold in the beginning, and therefore is
 feigned to giue a *disiunct charge*; which is a meere
 dreame, falsehood and foolery; and hath not so
 much as the least shadow of any probability:
 but let vs heare his words.

5. Lo euen then (sayth he) Gregory the 3. A meere
 writing to the Bishops of *Banaria*, giues this dis- forgery
 iunct charge: let none keep a harlot or concu-
 bine, but either let him liue chasty, or marry a
 wife, whome it shall not be lawfull for him to
 forsake. So M. Hall. Putting the words downe
 in latin in his margent, but without further re-
 ference where to find them, and I thinke he must
 seeke long that can find any such wordes: for
 there is extant but one epistle in *Baronius*, *Binnius*,
Serarius, *Syrus*, and others, of this Gregory vnto
 the Bishops of *Banaria*, and in that there is no
 such clause, or any thing tending to this pur-
 pose, so as vntill M. Hall shew vs his Authour
 from whence he hath taken it, we will vrge a-
 gainst him the *Cornelian law*, which so severely
 punisheth impostors, who to get credit to their
 leasings;

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leasings, obtrude their owne forgeryes, vnder
the name and title of the vncontrolled autho-
rity of other men.

6. But let vs suppose some such words be
extant, as I thinke verily there are none, yet
doubles the Pope meant them of such lay man
as kept concubines, and not of Clergy men: for
otherwise this testimony had appeared long
before this tyme in other mens bookes, and not
first haue peeped out of M. Halls Epistles, being
so vrgent as it is for this matter, and yet I haue
not scene it objected by any: which negatiue if
it suffice not, at least this affirmatiue with me
will conclude, that *Zacharias* Pope, and imme-
diate successour vnto this *Gregory*, in the very
first epistle he wrote vnto *S. Boniface* the Apostle
of *Germany*, hauing occasion to speake of this
matter, so writeth as though the thing were
« vndoubted of, and sayth: *Apostolus vnus vxoris vi-*
« *rum &c.* The Apostle will haue him to be made
« Priest, that is the husband of one wife, & this
« is lawfull to do before priesthood, but from the
« day of their priesthood they are forbidden from
« their proper wedlocke, or to liue with their
« wiues. And againe speaking of the lasciuious
« Priests in *Germany* he sayth: *Isti verò contrario &c.*
« But contrarywise these men do not only ab-
« staine from one wife, but being wholly giuen to
« lust, commit greater offences then secular men,
« in so much as they presume to haue more
« wiues, who after their orders taken are not
permitted to touch one. So *Gregories* successour,
and he also a *Grecian*, who further appoyn-
teth them to be suspended from the practise of
their

Zacharias
Papa ep. i.
ad Bonifa-
cium.

their function, according to the Canons and decrees of the Fathers: and this being so contrary vnto the other wordes, and not mentioning any reuocatiō of his predecessours decree, which alwayes in such cases is accustomable, M. Halls forgery is lyable to no excuse, but addeth a new confirmation to that which needed no other, that as well in this as in his *Trullan* decree, and almost in all things els he is to be condemned as faythles.

7. And his conscience as it should seem accusing him of perfidious and faythles dealing he seeketh to ward the blow, and auoyd the charge by laying the like fault on vs, but in such confused manner being as it seemes in some choller, as he vnderstandeth not himselfe: for after the forged testimony of *Gregory*, that none keep harlot or concubine, but either liue chastly, or marry a wife, whome it shall not be lawfull for him to forsake, he adioyneth immediatly: According to that rule of *Clerks*, cyted from *Isidore*, and renewed in the Councell of *Mentz* to the perpetuall shame of our iuggling aduersaries, nothing can argue guiltines so much, as vniust expurgations. *Isidore* sayth, or let them marry but one, they cyte him, let them coneyne, and leaue out the rest, somewhat worse then the *Diuell* cyted Scripture. Hitherto M. Hall, in which words he chargeth vs as yon see very hoatly, to our perpetual shame of vniust expurgations to cyte Authours worse then the *Deuill* Scripture, to be iugglers, and guilty of the greatest crime of all others, which is vniust Expurgations, more grieuous in this mans opinion, then to frame forged testimonies, and father them on other Authors, as he

A foolish
& impertinent
charge.

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did now immediatly on Gregory the third, and
is ready to do againe at a pinch, if he be vrged
therunto.

8. But this clamour is only superfluous
babling proceeding from an inflamed heat of
contradiction, hauing no other ground besides
the malice and ignorance of the writer, and
exceeding negligence in not seeing the places
in the Authours from whence they are taken,
but receauing the vpon trust out of other mens
notes, which the very title he giueth the booke
doth bewray: for he cyteth him *Isidor. reg. Cleric.*
whereas no such worke vnder that title is ex-
tant, and the place he alleadgeth is out of his
second booke *de Ecclesiasticis officiis*, and second
Chapter, & had he but read the Author, the ob-
jection would haue carryed the answer in his
forehead: for S. *Isidore* in the beginning of his
booke, speaking of Clergy men in generall,
whether in sacred or in the lesser orders, sayth of
them all together, that either they must conti-
nually liue chaste, or els liue in the band of one
marriage, which after when he commeth to
euery particuler order, he doth more fully de-
clare: and of Bishops, Priests, Deacons & Sub-
deacons he sayth, they are bound to continuall
chastity, of the rest he sayth nothing at all in
this matter, and therby insinuateth, that they
might marry, as indeed they might: and that he
taketh the word *Clerici*, Clergymen in this most
ample signification is euident by his first Chap-
ter of his second booke, and very first wordes
thereof: for thus he beginneth: *Omnes qui in Ec-*
clesiasticis ministerij gradibus ordinati sunt, generaliter
Clerici

M. Hall
either did
not read,
or not vn-
derstand
S. *Isidore*.

Clerici nominantur. All who are ordered in the degrees of the Ecclesiasticall minitery, are commonly called Clerks or Clergy men, which degrees in the ensuing Chapters he doth particularly specify, and that both sacred and others: for he hath one Chapter of Bishops, one of Priests, one of Deacons, one of Subdeacons, one of Lectours, one of Exorcists, one of those who are called *Ofstarij*, or attend to the keeping of the dore &c.

9. Of the foure first he concludeth, that they must liue continently, I meane either in S. Isidore single life, or a part from their wiues in case they contrary were marryed when they tooke these orders: to M. Hal. for this of Subdeacons alone, which alone concludeth for all the other Superiour orders, he writeth: *Isti quoq; vasa corporis & sanguinis Christi Diaconibus ad altarium offerunt &c.* These Subdeacons do offer to the Deacons at the altar the vessels of the body and bloud of Christ, of whome the Fathers haue decreed, that because they touch the holy mysteryes that they be chaste, & conteyne from their wiues, and be free from all carnall vncleanes, as is commanded them by the Prophet saying: *be yee cleane who beare the vessels of our Lord.* So S. Isidore of Subdeacons, and to likewise the Councell of Carthage, and if these were bound to chastity, none I thinke will deny this band more properly to appertayne to Priests, & Bishops, who do not only touch the vessels, but as S. Hierome sayth, *Corpus Domini sacro ore consecrunt*, consecrate with their sacred mouth the body of our Sauour, and the higher degree in all reason requireth more sanctity, cleanes, and perfection

Isidorus l. 2. de Eccl. offic. c. 10.

Subdeacons.

»

»

Concil.

Carth. 4. l.

cap. 5.

Hier. ep. 3.

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then the inferior.

Deacons. 10. Of Deacons he sayth: *propterea altari albis indui assistunt &c.* Therefore they assist at the Altar in their albes, that they may live a celestial life, and come white, and without spot to the sacrifices, to wit cleane in body, and for purity undefiled: for it becometh our Lord to haue such Ministers, that are not stained with any corruption of the flesh, but rather shine with the perfection of Chastity: and a little after explicating the words of S. Paul he sayth: *Diaconi similiter irreprehensibiles.* Let Deacons be irreprehensible, or blameles, that is without spot, as are Bishops, that is chaste, conteyning themselves from all lust. So S. Isidore of Deacons: and of Bishops, & Priests. and Priests he sayth as we haue cyted him in the first Paragraphe vpon the words of S. Paul: *Vnius uxoris virum*, the husband of one wife: *Sacerdotem quaris Ecclesia, aut de monogamia ordinatum, aut de virginitate sanctum &c.* The Church seeketh for a Priest or Bishop (for the word in S. Isidore is taken for both, especially the later) either for single marriage decent, or holy from virginity: he who hath bene twice marryed cannot be Bishop. So he. And this being the iudgment and doctrine of S. Isidore, let vs according to the same examine M. Halls charge, and see of what weight and moment it is.

M. Halls weight and moment it is.
yntruthes 11. False then it is that the sentence of
in vrging Gregory, or rather of M. Hall in Gregoryes name, is
the testi- according to the rule of Clerkes of S. Isidore: for
mony of betweene the one and other is no semblance,
S. Isidore. no coherence, no dependance, but open contradiction and repugnance, because he brought
that

that sentence to proue that Priests might marry, at least vnder a *disiunct charge*, but this is not allowed by S. *Isidore*, by any *disiunction*, or *copulation*, but disproned in all holy orders from the Subdeacon to the Bishop, from the highest to the lowest, and it is nothing els in M. H. II., then meere iuggling, and most shamefull dealing to apply that vnto Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and Subdeacons, which S. *Isidore* meant of others, and to restrayne the word *Clerke* to such only as are in holy orders, when the other extendeth it to all the lesser, and to any whosoever serue the Church.

12. Another falsity it is, that this rule is renewed in the Councell of *Mentz*, and that to our perpetuall shame, whome he calleth *his ingling aduersaryes*: for that Councell is so far from reuewing that rule, as that part which alone concerneth M. Halls purpose, to wit, *aut certe vniū matrimonij vinculo faderentur*, is pretermitted, & the other *disiunctiue* part of preserving perpetuall chastity is only expressed: for which this man is so eager in his crimination: and although his words seeme to touch vs alone not the Councell, when he sayth: that this is renewed in the Councell of *Mentz* to our perpetual shame: for (sayth he) nothing can argue guiltines so much as vniust expurgations: for *Isidore* sayth, let them conteyne, or let them marry but one, they cyte him, let them conteyne and leaue out the rest, somewhat worse then the Diuel cyted scripture. Which accusation of his, if it be meant of Catholics, as at the first sight it may seeme, that they cut out this passage out of S. *Isidore*, the thing is no lesse false then iniurious, as appeareth

Concil.
Magun. 1.
cap. 10.

A false &
iniurious
charge.

A contra-
diction.

reth by this booke it selfe printed at Rome in the the Popes *Vatican*, and annexed vnto the last tome of S. *Gregories* workes in the ycare 1597. where the passage is word by word, as M. *Hall* hath cyted it, and the like I suppose of all other editions: if his meaning only be that the Fathers of that Councell omitted it, then as I sayd he contradiceth himselfe, in saying that this Councell renewes the rule of S. *Isidore*, for the marryng of Prielts, when as by omitting that clause it doth rather ouerthrow it, and allow only the single life of the Clergy.

The Councell of
Mentz
cleared for
omitting
the later
part of
S. *Isidores*
sentence,

13. The third falshood is of the guiltynes of the Councell in this vniust expurgation: wherein M. *Hall*, because it lett out the sacred clause of marriage (a heauy cale) sayth, that they cyte it worse then the Diuine cyted the Scripture. Which I deny, and further auerre that supposing the end of the Councell, for which as well that in *Germany*, as two or three more of *France* were called, which was for the reformation of Priests, Bishops, & Religious persons in these Countreyes, the Fathers assembled tooke that out of S. *Isidore*, which S. *Isidore* alone meant of such, as omitted the other clause which concerned others, which as by S. *Isidore*, speaking in general was well exprested, so the Fathers in the *Moguntine* Councell speaking more strictly, did necessarily pretermitt, and that according to the true sense, drift and meaning of the author, as now we haue heard: so as all bitterness of words against vs, sheweth M. *Hall* to be like a waspish child, that vpon euery occasion would shew reuenge, but wanteth strength to do any hurt: for
all

all his blunt bolts are but *sagitta parvulorum*, darts
 bull rushes, fitter for women and children,
 then for graue and learned men to skirmish
 with all.

14. The last falshood is in the translation
 of S. *Isidore's* words, for *vnus matrimonij vinculo so-*
derentur, doth not signify let them marry but one,
 as if S. *Isidore* had giuen leaue to Priests to marry
 once: for so M. *Hall* will haue him to be vn-
 derstood, but rather is to be Englished passimely,
 let them be marryed but to one, according to
 that of the Apostle, *vnus vxoris vir*, the husband
 of one wife, in which sense albeit he had spo-
 ken of Priests and Bishops, he had sayd nothing
 against vs, who graunt that such may be orde-
 red, but deny that they may marry after: so as
 betweene my translation and M. *Halls*, there is
 as great a difference, as between these two pro-
 positions: he who is once marryed may after be
 made Priest, and he who is made Priest may af-
 ter be once marryed. The first is allowed by S.
Paul and all others, the other by all manner of
 authority is denyed: and M. *Hall* cannot in any
 one particuler, euer shew vs the contrary pra-
 ctise in any place where soeuer to haue been ob-
 serued in the *Latin*, or *Greeke* Church: and this
 supposing S. *Isidore's* words to be spoken of Priests
 and taken in their most rigorous and Gramma-
 ticall sense, although I preferre the former opi-
 nion as more true, & most agreeable to the whole
 contexture of that second booke from whence
 it is taken: so as you see nothing can passe this
 mans pen without many dashes of vnincere &
 faythles dealing,

M. Hall
 helpeth
 himsele
 by false
 translatiō.

15. There followeth in M. Hall another authority, or rather as he sets it forth a mayne pillar or ground of his cause, which by so much the more deserueth exact discusſion, by how much M. Hall doth confide on the ſame, as on a matter for truth vndoubted of, and for this preſent controuerſy (ſuppoſing the truth) ſo forcible, as it admits no reply, & which alone ſo potently doth beare and beate vs downe, as if all arguments ſayled this by it ſelfe were able to ſupply for all, and not without our deadly wound yield the cauſe and conqueſt to our Aduerſaries, in reſpect whereof I will ſtand a litle the longer on the matter, and let nothing paſſe either of his text or margent, which cōcerneth this matter vndiſcuſſed: & that I may not ſeem without cauſe to make this ſo curious inſpection, and ſtand vpon all particulars of the ſame, I will firſt ſet downe the thing out of M. Halls owne words, and that without any alteration of any ſyllable, that you may both ſee the thing it ſelfe of what force it is, and how much he doth reſoſe thereon, and then anſwere euery part and parcell thereof. Thus then he writeth.

16. But I might (quoth he) haue ſpared all this labour of writing, could I perſwade whoſoeuer doubts or denyes this, to read ouer that one epiſtle, which Buldericus Biſhop of Auſpurge wrote learnedly, and vehemently to Pope Nicholas the firſt in this ſubieſt, which if it do not anſwere all cauills, ſatisfy all Readers, and conuince all (not willfull) Aduerſaries, let me be caſt in ſo iuſt a cauſe. There you ſhall ſee how
juſt

*Answered
by Bellar-
mine lib. de
Clerc. c. 22.
init.*

just, how expedient, how ancient this liberty
 is, together with the feeble & iniurious ground
 of forced continency: reade it and see whether
 you can desire a better aduocate. After him (so
 strongly did he plead, and so happily) for two
 hundred years more this *freedom* still blessed
 those parts, yet not without extreme oppositi-
 on: historyes are witnessses of the busy and not
 vnlearned combats of those tymes in this argu-
 ment. Hitherto M. Hall.

17. And heere before I enter further into
 this fable, I cannot sufficiently meruaile that
 any one who would be taken for learned, a sin-
 cere writer, and searcher of the truth, would e-
 uer aduenture in such phrased of speech, with
 such certainty, such confidence to gull his cre-
 dulous Reader with a meer fiction, a counter-
 fait toy, and most childish imposture: is it pos-
 sible, M. Hall, that this fond inuention so often
 answered, and refuted by so many learned men,
 as Bellarmine, Baronius, Etkins, Faber, Staphilus, and
 in our English tongue by Father Henry Fitzsimons
 and others, shall againe without all prooffe for
 approuance, or disproofe of what is objected a-
 gainst it, be againe so earnestly yrge, so deliue-
 red as an vndoubted and infallible verity, and
 testimony beyond all exception? truly you are
 of a very weake wit if you see not, or prodigall
 of your credit if you regard not, or of a scared
 conscience and iron forehead if you feeble and
 feare not the sinne and shame, which before
 God and man will follovy of this insolent dea-
 ling. I meruayl not that you are so eager against
 such as read Bellarmine and others of the
 Iesuits

M. Hall's
 indiscre-
 tion very
 singular.

Hall. cha-
 ract. of
 Pharas. &
 Christ. pag.

254 *An Answer to M. Halls Apology*,
Iesuits, as you rearme them: for writing as you
do, the policy is good, and you may take the
larger scope to coyne lyes, whiles you turne
your Readers eyes from the authors where they
should find them detected, and read the answer
before euer you had made the obiection. But to
the thing it selfe.

The first
occasion
of this
fable.

2. Cor. 7.

The tale
which is
related in
the coun-
terfait e-
pistle of S.
Vdalri-
cus.

18. After that the *Lutheran* liberty through
the dissension of the German Princes had taken
away true sayth from men, and ouerthrowne
the ground of all vertuous actions, the better to
couer the lewd lechery and filthy incestuous
marriages of their first founders, & to open the
gate to all lasciuious behauiour, which they
saw was far more easy to practise then to per-
swade, seeing the Apostle so plaine for virgins,
and naturall reason to shew the excellency of
that state about marriage, all the endeaours of
these new flesh-wormes was to bring the thing
in hatred, by making many fictions of the il ob-
seruance of this vertue in such, as by speciall
vow had bound themselves to keep it, Priests I
meane, and all Religious persons: and for that
examples moue the multitude whereof some of
fresh memory perhaps were true, that in other
times the like inconuenience came of vowing
virginity, they inuented this prodigious histo-
ry related in the letter of S. *Vdalricus*, whereof
now we shall speake.

19. And although these companions a-
gree in the end for which this tale should be de-
uised, yet in setting downe the circumstances,
and the particulars of the fact, as it commonly
happeneth in things of this nature, there were
among

among the brethren diuers opinions: first for the place where it should happen, then who should relate it, and at what tyme. The case related in that epistle is this in effect, that S. Gregory making a law for the continency of Clergy men as S. *Vdalricus* is made to say, whiles his men went to his pond to catch fish, they found more then six thousand heads of yong children, which being presented vnto S. Gregory, he saw the law that he had made to haue bene the cause heereof, and that the Priests to couer their incontinency, had committed this murther, whereupon he reuoked the law, and permitted Priests to marry. So S. *Vdalricus* in his letter to Pope *Nicholas* the first, as M. *Hall*, or second, or third as M. *Fox* will haue it: and thus now they tell the tale.

20. But in the beginning these heads were *P. Henr.* sayd to be found in *Sicily*, and that the mothers *Fitzsimons* of these Children might not seeme to be inferior to their Fathers, *Flaccus Illyricus*, as *Staphi-* *Cath. Con-* *fusa. pag.* *39. Sta-* *phil. in de-* *senf Theo-* *logia tri-* *mumbris* *sect. vltim.* *Binn. tom.* *1. in notis* *ad vitam* *Gregorij* *magni.* *lwo* writeth, sayth that all of them were found deere vnto certayne Monasteries of Nuns, but where these Mōasteries were he sayth nothing: and for the author of this letter some say it was S. *Vdalricus*, others, as *Binnius* reporteth, that it was not the Saint, but another Bishop of the same place and name, but in all the Catalogue of these Bishops, no second *Vdalricus* is to be found, others as *Benefield* against M. *Leech* say, that he who wrote this letter was one *Volusianus*, but who this *Volusianus* was there is no mention, M. *Hall* sayth that *Volusianus* and *Huldrick* is all one, which to me seems incredible, there being so

so little affinity in the names, and not one euer writing that S. *Vdalricke* was termed *Volusianus*, only they of *Basil*, who first printed this iye,

Terentius. — *Populo vt placerent quas fecissent fabulas :*

haue made the fiction very tormall, and say that the place was *Rome*, the present of 6000. heads & more was made to S. *Gregory* the Great, the author of the letter S. *Vdalricke*, and that he wrote it vpon the same occasion to *Nicholas* the first, who would haue renewed S. *Gregory* his decree, and haue forced continency vpon all Ecclesiasticall men.

The thing
evidently
demon
strated to
be a lying
fiction.

21. But the whole narration is so fabulous, so ill patched together, so false and forged, as it disclaimeth from all truth of tymes, persons, and things, no one part agreeing with another, or subsisting in it selfe; so well had they tippled who deuised this drunken letter: for els they would haue scene it impossible, that euer S. *Vdalricke* should write vnto *Nicholas* the first; seeing *Nicholas* dyed in the yeare 867. and the other was not borne till the yeare 890. so as betweene the death of *Nicholas* and birth of S. *Vdalricke* there are 23. years: and as though that this were not ridiculous inough for one to writ a letter to another, who was dead 23. yeares before the writer was borne, they add in the beginning of the letter, that he wrote it when he was Bishop: for thus he writeth: *Nicolao Domino & Patri per uigili S. R. E. prouisoru Huldericus solo nomine Episcopus amorem vt filius, timorem vt seruus.*

*Non sat
commodè
diuisa tem-
poribus.*

To *Nicholas* his Lord and Father, the vigilant prouisor of the holy Church of *Rome*, *Huldericke* only in name a Bishop, sendeth loue as a sonne,

scare

fear as a seruant: and to omit this manner of greeting not in vse in these tymes, you see that he wrot the letter when he was Bishop, vnto which dignity he was preferred in the yeare 924. or as the Chronicles of his owne Church say 923. so as betweene the death of *Nicholas*, & his election, there are more then fifty yeares: and can any but laugh to heare of a letter written vnto one, who was dead more then fifty yeares before? *M. Hall* shall do well to tell vs who carryed this letter, where it was deliuered, & what answer the dead man returned thereunto, for that will serue as well as the other for old women to tell children at the fire side, and to make fooles pastyme.

22. Morcouer in the tyme of the first *Nicholas*, although diuers other tumults were rayled, especially by the wicked Patriarke of *Constantinople Photius*, *Michael* the Emperour, *Iohn* Bishop of *Rauenna*, *Lotharius* King of *France*, *Hinmarus* Arch-bishop of *Rhemes* and others, yet in the matter we now speake of, there was neuer any Controuerſy made, no decree, no mention at all in the life of this Pope, exactly set downe by *Baronius*, & how then is it possible that any should write vnto him such a letter as heere is mentioned, and no mention thereof to be made in his life, or any record left, that euer he dealt one way or other in that matter, vnles it were in some particuler case, which was resolved according to the custome then in vse, without all tumult, noyse, or resistance, when 'as this letter mentioneth not a priuate resolution, but a publicke decree, either to haue beene made, or intended

The marriage of Clergy men neuer mentioned in the time of Pope Nicholas the first.

tended to be made for all in general, & that with publique opposition, of which there is no mention or memory in any Authour but in this letter: and it is a lye worthy of the maker in *John Fox*, whē speaking of this *Nicholas* a most famous and renowned Pastour: by this Pope (sayth he) *Priests began to be restrained from marrying.*

23. Againē *Antonius monchiacenus* Democares a Sorbon Doctour, recounting all the Bishops of the fable *Auspurg*, and the tyme when they liued, of all o-
is refuted thers that I know most exactly, he putteth in
by the the yeare 858. when *Nicholas* was made Pope,
Chronicle one *Valterus* who liuing but two years, *Adelgerus*
of the succeeded him, who remayning Bishop sixteen
Church of years, dyed the yeare 866. one yeare before *Ni-*
Auspurg. *cholas*, whom *S. Neodegarus* following ouer liued
the Pope, and betweene him and *S. Vdalricke*,
were *Lanto*, *Vdelmanns*, *S. VVidgarus* the Apollle
of the *Switzers*, *S. Adalbertus*, & *Hildinus*, so as this
being taken out of the very Regillers, there can
be no errour, or not so great as can make so no-
torious difference in the tyme, especially when
as other Authours, as *Sebastianus Munsterus*, *Gaspard*
Bruschius, *Henricus Pantaleon*, and *Aubertus Myrans*,
and with them *Martinus Crusius* the Lutheran, &
others agree in the same number of yeares, and
order of succession, and our Aduersaries are able
to bring no Authour, or authority to disproue
it, or to make so much as any seeming appearan-
ce for this conuiction of tyme betweene *S. V-*
dalricke & Pope *Nicholas* the first, which maketh
the whole tale more incredible, and in the iud-
gement of any wise man impossible.

24. And wonderfull it is to see how M.

Fox

Fox in this matter playeth the goose, and forget- M. Fox
teth himsef, graunting and denying, now af- his con-
firming one thing, and then another, and that tradition
as it were with one breath, without any pause in this
betweenc: for speaking of this Pope Nicholas the matter.
first, thus he writeth: by this Pope Priests began to be
restrayned from marrying, whereof Huldricke Bishop
of Ausboroug (a learned and holy man) sending a letter
vnto the Pope grauely and learnedly refuteth and reclai-
meth against his vndiscreet proceedings touching that mat-
ter: the copy of which letter, as I thought it vnworthy to be
suppressed, so I iudged it heere worthy and meet for the
better instruction of the Reader to be inserted. So he of
Pope Nicholas the first, whome he chargeth as
you see with restrayning of marriage, and of being
reprehended by S. Vdalricke, who becaule he fa-
uoured as they suppose their marriages, which
is with them the lapis lydius to try all learning, &
only square of holynes, is intituled a most holy &
learned man. Thus before the letter.

25. But hauing set downe the letter at ful
length according to his own translation, which
is none of the best, forgetting what he had sayd
in the beginning, he giueth presently this caueat
to the Reader, that heere by the way (sayth he) the M. Fox
Reader is to be admonished that this epistle which by error was of a
of the writer is referred to Pope Nicholas the first, in my very short
mind is rather to be attributed to the name and tyme of memory
Nicholas the second, or Nicholas the third. And is it so
indeed Syr Iohn? then why do you put it out of
the due place, vnder a wronge Pope? why did
you tel vs that the first Nicholas restrayned marriage,
and for that was reprehended by S. Vdalricke?
Did the Saint grauely and learnedly refute and

260 *An Answer to M. Halls Apology*,
disclaime against the vndiscreet proceeding of
Pope *Nicholas* the first before the letter, and after
was proued not to haue sayd one word vnto
him at all, but to haue spoken to another, who
was Pope more then a hundred yeares after his
death? which of these *Foxes* will you belecue?
these are such riddles, as I cannot ynderstand
them, and no more as I suppose did he himselte
when he wrote them, and so I leaue them to M.
Hall to answere, who for this matter in his mar-
gent remitteth his Reader to M. *Fox*, and yet he
in his last admonition contradicteth M. *Hall*,
who is resolute that it was written to the first,
and not to the second, or third *Nicholas*.

The cor-
rection of
M. *Fox*
refuted.

26. And M. *Fox* like a bad tinker whiles
he would mend a little hole, by knocking he
beates out the bottome of the kettle, or at least
makes the hole much larger then it was before:
for whereas most Authours agree that S. *Vdal-*
ricke dyed in the yeare 974. as *Hermannus Contra-*
ctus, *Vrspergensis*, *Baronius*, and others, or 973. as
Crusius, how could he write to *Nicholas* the second
who was made Pope more the fourescore yeares
after S. *Vdalricks* death? For as *Platina*, *Baronius*, &c
others affirme, *Nicholas* the second was not made
Pope vntill the yeare 1059. such a foole or pro-
phet do these men make this Saint to be: for if
he wrote to the first *Nicholas*, he wrote to one
buried more then twenty yeares before he was
borne, if to the second to one not made Pope
till more then fourescore yeares after he was bu-
ryed: and as for the 3. *Nicholas*, he is so far off that
I thinke his great grand-father was not begot-
ten, when S. *Vdalricke* dyed: for he was made
Pope

Pope in the year 1278. and the other departed this life the year 973. so as there are almost three hundred yeares betweenc the death of the one, and creation of other, so exact are these men in historyes, and such regard they haue to deliuer the truth, or rather are so impudent and shameles, as they care not what they write, or what they auouch.

27. For whereunto now are all M. Halls boasts come of the force & warrant of this testimony, that it is able to *answere all canills, satisfy all* M. Hall *cast in his readers, and conuince all not willfull Adversaries, or els cause.* that he would be cast in so iust a cause? For who seeth him not only to be cast, but crushed also in this matter? who seeth nor, on what sliding sands he placeth the chiefeft foundations of his surest proofs? for now all his fayre words and resolute assurance of his so potent Aduocate is proued to be nothing els, but light smoke, false coynē, a meere coggng collusion, which bewrayeth in the writer totoo much vanity, conioyned with affected ignorance, or intollerable stupidity, in so much as I may conclude this first argument against M. Hall, with the words of the Authour, who some yeares past set out S. Huldicks life, and in this matter thus writeth in the Preface: *Scio ad has impuram nescio cuius nebulonis epistolam Vdalrici aliquando nomine venditam, sed cum ea ad Nicolaum Pontificem scripta sit (Nicolaus autem primus plusquam viginti annis ante Vdalricum natum fuerit mortuus, secundum Pontificatum octogesimo, & quod excurrit anno post eum mortuum inierit) ferrei sit oris oportet qui tantum mendacium ausit asserere, plumbei cordis cui possit imponere.* So he. Which wordes for courtely

I leaue vnenglishted, least M. Hall should thinke that I applyed these discourteous tearmes vnto him in particuler, which I will not: and that authour speaketh to the first framer of this fancy alone, or to all in general that will be deceaued by such fooleries.

No such
epistle to
be found
amongst
the Epistles
of S. V-
dalricus.

28. Besides this argument of tyme (an euiction vnauoydable) other presumptions there are which seeme to me to be very effectually, and not answerable, wherof that is one which *Staphilus* relateth of the epistles of that Saint, all registred and reserved in *Auspurg*, amongst which there is not the least signe, or shew of any such letter: neither doth *Martinus Crusius* the *Lutheran* in his *Sueuicall History* (of which *Auspurg* is the chiefeft Citty) so much as once insinuate any such thing, which yet should not haue bene omitted if it could haue bene found, that authour taking all occasions where he can to caluminate Catholikes, and gather vp all scraps of any antiquity, which may seem to make against them: & which yeldeth to this argument more perswasive validity, no Author of those tymes when it was written, or any other after vntill our age, euer mentioned the same, or so much as heard thereof till our late Sectaryes set it forth, and many reasons there were to haue vrged the authority thereof, in case such a thing had byn extant, written by a man of that fame for sanctity, as S. *Vdalricus*, to such a Pope as *Nicholas* the first, in such a matter, so often, so earnestly debated, with such circumstance of more then six thousand childrens heads (a lye fit for *Lucian*) and the like, which yet none euer did, and their
silence

silence is to me a sure signe, that no such thing was extant in their dayes.

29. And to make this more plaine, whereas with S. Vdalricke in Germany, at the same time liued S. Dunstane in England, who also outliued him for some yeares, and there that contention was then hoatly pursued by that Saint & others against the licentiousnes of Priests, it seemeth to me very strange, that such an epistle should haue beene written, whilst that conflict was on foot, which lasted for diuers yeares, and no acknowledgement thereof to haue beene had in England, where it might most auayle, and with the authority of the Authour, haue giuen more credit to the cause, then the others should haue beene able to infringe: but no such thing was then euer alladged, not one syllable thereof in *Malmesbury*, *Houeden*, *Huntingdon*, *Matthew Westminister*, *William Nutrigenfis*, *Florentius*, or any other: and thereof I inferre that there was no such letter euer written, which vpon so vrgent an occasion, at so opportune a tyme, and so directly for the purpose of the lewd Clergy, could not haue beene concealed, but againe and againe beene produced, insisted on, and vrged to the vttermost.

30. Or in case there had then been so smal intercourse betweene England and Germany, as in more then ten or twelue yeares a matter of this bruite and fame should be written in one Countrey, and nothing thereof heard of or known in the other, our Kings at that tyme being of the Saxon race, yet how came it to passe that in the tyme of *Henn*, the fourth Emperour, when this

Two or 3. yeares before the death of S. Vdalricke was the contentiō of the incontinent Priests begun in England and yet none euer mentioned this letter.

The incontinent Clergy men of Germany though liuing in the same age yet neuer mentioned S. Vdalricks epistle.

practise was by him permitted, and the Priests no lesse insolent then against the impugnors of their incontinency, then our Ministers are eager now for their wiues; in two Synods, one at *Erphorde* 1074. and the other the next yeare after at *Mentz*, to omit other combats against *Gregory* the seauenth, all which happened within the compasse of one age after *S. Vdalricke*; how came it I say to passe, that none of these *German* Priests could find this letter, or so much as giue any notice therof, especially *Auspurg* it self being taken by that wicked Emperour, rifeled by the souldiers, and razed to the ground? No man there is which seeth not what aduantage they had gotten thereby, and the thing hapoing in their owne Countrey, could not but haue beene knowne to some or other, if not to all of that incontinent company, and so many fauourers of theirs writing for them against the Pope, some one or other had registred it in their behalfe, which yet hitherto was neuer done, and the Emperour would haue been most glad to haue had such a record, to haue vexed the Pope withall, and checked his decree, in case any such had beene knowne, or heard of in his dayes.

In the
tyme of *S.*
Vdalricke
there was
no contro-
uersy in
Germany
about the
marriage
of Priests.

31. Againe in all the tyme, that *S. Vdalricke* was Bishop, no Pope euer had any occasion to deale, or treat of this point in *Germany*, and nothing was euer done therein by any vnder whom he liued, which were diuers: for he was Bishop fifty yeares, and many Popes in that time liued but two or three, & some not so much, but one yeare only, so as there was no cause why any such decree should be made, or thought vpon.

or that such a letter should be written: for all the variance that was in his tyme about the marriage of Priests was in England only, where three yeares before the Saints death a Councell was held, and the decrees which were made against the incontinent, by all the Bishops of the whole land assembled about the same, were after sent vnto Pope Iohn the 13. who confirmed them, wherof the chiefest was, that either they should put their women from them, or themselves be put from their Ecclesiasticall possessions, which nothing concerned S. *Vdalricke*, and by all likelihood he neuer so much as heard thereof, and if on this occasion he had written this letter to *Nicholas* the first, it had byn of a very stale date, to wit of more then a hundred years after that Pope his death.

32. And as these things demonstrate S. *Huldericke* not to haue beene the writer, so if we a little examine what is written, the contents I *S. Huldericke* let-
meane of this letter, we shall find how far it is *ter* against
from all learning, wit, and truth, as no man *the Pro-*
would offer to be cast in his cause therein, vnles *testants*.
it be some out-cast indeed, that careth for nei-
ther cause, credit, or conscience at all: for to o-
mit that this letter acknowledgeth the Popes *Suprema-*
Supremacy against all Protestants, and band of *cy*.
obseruing the vows of such as haue vowed con-
tinency against M. *Hall*: for of the first the Au-
thour sayth: I doubted what the members of
the body should do, their head being so greatly
out of frame, for what can be more grievous, or
more to be lamented touching the state of the
Church, then for you being the Bishop of the
principall

« principall Sea, to whome appertayneth the re-
 « giment of the whole Church to swarue, neuer
 so little out of the right way? So he. And yet
 this now in England is treason by Parliament,
 Vowes of chastity to say I meane, that the Bishop of Rome is head &
 be obser- supreme Governour of the whole Church, which heere
 ued. as you see by this grane and learned authour, as M. Fox
 calleth him, is to plainly confessed: of the other
 also thus: *truth it selfe speaking of continency not of one
 only but of all together (the number only excepted of them
 which haue professed continency) sayth, he that can take,
 let him take. Which exception ouerthroweth M.
 Hales impossible necessity together with the do-
 & trine of their Church, where the practical expo-
 sition of the former words is the Fryer or Priest
 that can take a Nunne to his wife, let him take
 her, and that without any exception at all.*

33. To omit this I say, what a grosse and
 palpable vntruth is that which the Authour a-
 uerred against such as vrged the testimony of
 A notori-ous lye in S. Gregory for the continency of Clergy men,
 the coun-when he sayth: *whose temerity I laugh at, and igno-
 terfeit epi-rance I lament: for they know not being ignorantly decea-
 file of S. ned, how dangerously the decree of this heresy was (being
 Haldrick. made of S. Gregory) who afterwards well reuoked
 the same with condigne fruit of repentance? But this re-
 uocatory decree, this repentance, or that the
 continency of Priests was an heresy, in S. Grego-
 ryes opinion, are no lesse monstrous, then ma-
 licious assertions, neuer knowne or heard of til
 this letter came forth, or recorded by any for the
 space of more then nyne hundred yeares after S.
 Gregoryes death that euer we can read of, and so
 much being written of his life by Ioannes Diaconus*

now, by S. Bede, Ado, Freculphus, and others, that this by them al should be forgotten, which hapned vpon so remarkable an occasion as neuer the like before, or since hath euer hapned, is a thing that exceeds my capacity to conceaue, or any man els of iudgment to imagine: and if such rotten rags may be once admitted for solid arguments, there is no ground so sure, but will soone be shaken, and all proofs from authority will be quite taken away: for any light head may soone frame more of these fictions, then there are heads feigned to haue beene found in S. Gregoryes pond.

34. And wheras the Councell of Rome before cyted was held not long before his death, in which it is decreed, *that if any Priest, or Deacon marry a wife he be accursed.* And of Subdeacons he so often had determined, that they should not marry, nor be marryed when they were made, and that no women should dwell with Priests, but such as the Canons allow, it well sheweth what his opinion was: which againe is expressed in his answer to the second question of S. Augustine: and all this being in S. Gregory, and no memory of the contrary in any epistle of his, or other mens writings of him, or in what other Authour soeuer, we may well laugh at their temerity, or rather, lament their ignorance and simplicity, who will belieue such toyes, and offer to be cast in their cause vpon so friuolous and fabulous a tryall, no poetickall fiction in all Ouids Metamorphosis, no dialogue in Lucian, or tale in Esop being more fond, false, and improbable, then this of the infants heades, or that S. Huldricke was the

S. Gregory still vr-
ged the
continen-
cy of the
Clergy.
Greg. l. 1. r.
ep. 42. l. 3.
ep. 5. &
34. l. 7. ep.
112.

Authour

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 Authour of that fantastick Epistle.

More
 then six
 thousand
 heads in
 one pond.

*Monstrum
 horrendū
 informe,
 ingens.*

35. Furthermore that *more then six thousand heads* in so short a tyme after S. Gregoryes decree, should be found in one pond, and all these to haue beene the base children of Clergy men, may be told more then six thousand tymes to any man of iudgment in the world, & neuer be believed, much lesse of any who know Rome, about which now there are no ponds, and I thinke verily there were as many then, & that so many heades should be found without the bodyes, & all to be knowne (by their looks belike) to haue beene the children of Priests, & other Ecclesiasticall men, is a fit fable for Fox to insert into the Acts and Monuments of his Church, for *similes habent labra lactucas*, the truth of the Church of Protestants, and these histories is alike: and this may be told in *Virginia* (if euer any more Ministers be sent thither to preach) or in some other parts of the West Indies, where the people being rude and sauage, will be easily induced to beleue any thing that is brought them by trauellers, who talke of things done in other Countrys a far of, they hauing no meanes nor list to examine the truth of the things reported.

The stile
 of this ba-
 stard epi-
 stile.

36. And if all other arguments fayled, the stile and phrase of this Satyricall epistle, well sheweth the Authour to haue beene no Saint, or of any saintlike disposition: for who would euer vse such tearmes vnto his Superiour, vnto the chiefe Pastour, and Gouvernour of Christ his flocke as to say, *through your imperious Tyranny*? for is not this to be counted a violence and tyranny &c. who would

would euer twyte the Pope with cruelty, persecuting, and despihtfully handling of the Clergy? such base and rebellious dealing may better besceem M. A. de Dominis, that lewd lost renegate, then meeke S. Vdalricke: what Saint finally would say: For so much then, o Apostolicall Syr, as no man which knoweth you is ignorant, that if you through the light of your discretion had vnderstood, and secne what poisoned pestilence might haue come into the Church through the sentence of this your decree &c. Moreouer there are so many Ministeriall phrases in this letter, as the institution of the Gospell, the word of the Lord, and the like, such mad application of the Scripture, such spruce aduertisements from the Lord, graced in the margent with M. Foxes notes, whereof one is, what it is to marry in the Lord, with a solempne shutting vp of the letter, as it were of a sermon with these words, seeing that no man without chastity (not only in Virgins state, but also in the state of matrimony) shall see our Lord, who with the Father and the holy Ghost liueth and reigneth for euer, Amen: as any may see it was neuer written by the holy and learned S. Vdalricke, but was inuented by some ignorant Minister, who scant knew the lawes of a letter, which is not to be ended like a sermon, although otherwise in lying and rayling he were very practicall, and his craftsmaister.

37. For notwithstanding all M. Halls encomiasticall prayles of conuincing all aduersaries, of being so potent an aduocate, & the like: whosoeuer will examine the proofes there alledged, and analize the whole letter, shall see how far he was to seeke for sound grounds of learning, who wrote the same, and how feeble

The proofs of that letter weake, simple, & ridiculous.

his

his reasons are for this purpose, the greatest part of that epistle being also spent either in some bitter inuective, or other, as in the beginning against the Pope, & presently after against such as live incontinently in single life, and commit sinnes against nature, as though married men did not the like, and therefore as well marriage as single life were to be taken away, because both are subiect to abuse: & in all the later part, which is more then the halfe, no one place, or argument is brought or yrged of any moment, but these wordes, *he that can take, let him take*, which we allow, and according to that rule square this consequence, he that can live a single life may be a Priest, and he who cannot may refuse, there is no enforcement, no compulsion, all passeth by free choice, and voluntary election: and this Authour in the words immediately before sayth, that such as have vowed continency, are excepted from this rule, and are bound to conteyne, it being now no more in their power to take or leaue: and so if Priests (as they do) make a solemnne vow or profession of chastity, why should not they be bound also to the obseruance of the vow they haue made, as well as the other? what reason can there be assigned, why the vow which Religious persons make of chastity should bind them, and the selfe same vow made by Priests should not bind at all, but leaue them as free as they were before?

Small
proofe.

39. All the rest of that letter is in documents bitter Satyrs, and other such trash, and the proof for the mariag of Clergy men from the beginning to the end is very little, and to no purpose at

at all: he beginneth with the permission of the old law not recalled, as he sayth, in the new, to which before we haue answered, and heere add further the testimony of Venerable Bede, more ancient then S. Hildricke: *Hoc est quod dixi quod vi-* *Bede in il-*
aud Lucar
cis sua tempore Pontifices templi tantum officijs mancipati i. & cum
¶ This is that which I sayd, that the Priests, *impleren-*
tur dies
officij eius.
when their course came being tyed only to the offices of the Church, did forbear not only from the company of their wiues, but from the very entring into their houses, whereby is giuen an example to the Priests of our tyme, to keep perpetuall chastity, who are alwayes commanded to serue the Altar. For in the old law because the Priestly succession was preserved in the stocke of Aaron, it was necessary to allot them some tyme for preserving their issue, but now because there is no carnall succession sought after, but spirituall perfection, the Priests that they may alwayes attend vnto the Altar, are alwayes to conteyne from their wiues, & chastity is imposed vpon them for euer to be obserued. So S. Bede. And his reason carryeth so great force with it, and refuteth so well the idle obiection of Protestants, as there needeth no commentary to explicate it, no authority to confirme it, or other reason to be adioyned to make it more forcible.

39. The other arguments drawne from authority or antiquity in that Rapsody, are so barely alleadged, so weakely followed, & some so impertinently applyed, as will pittie any iudicious learned Reader to behold, and in effect they are the same which M. Hall hath brought, This epi-
stle bring-
geth no-
thing of
moment
but the
ordinary
trivial ob-
jections.
and

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 and my selfe haue answered, and therefore in
 praying this epistle, he closely also seemeth to
 prayse himselfe: for he bringeth the Text of the
husband of one wife, the doctrine of Diuells, the *Aposto-*
licall Canon, the story of Paphnutius, S. Isidore of
 contayning, or marrying of one, & that Saint
 is there stiled the writer of the rule of the Cler-
 gy, from whence perhaps M. Hall tooke his er-
 rour in cyting it vnder the same title: and to
 this is added to conclude the whole matter, the
 imaginary reuocation of S. Gregoryes decree by
 occasion of more then six thousand infants
 heads neuer found in his mote, but only in the
 muddy head of that tripling German, who halfe
 drunke, & halfe in a dreame first deuised that fa-
 ble, and M. Hall as it should seeme was ashamed
 to mention it, as seeing it out of common rea-
 son not only improbable, but also impossible,
 and set forth with such circumstances, as well
 shew the whole thing to be incredible, and a ly
 in print.

40. One place of Scripture that epistle hath
 more thē is in this epistle of M. Hall, which is, *let*
every man haue his owne wife, which that honest
 but in no Man will haue the Apostle to haue meant as
 mood, nor well of the Clergy, as of the laity, and the Ca-
 figure. tholikes who deny it, are false hypocrits, do lye,
 and faigne, and that the Priests are not afraid
 to abuse other mens wines, & to commit out-
 rage in the foresayd wickednes: which is a
 Bedlam prooffe, that any lewd companion,
 though neuer so base may object against the
 most innocent man alive, and the Iewes against
 our Sauour himselfe sayd, that the was, *Hemo*

vorax & potator vini, a glutton and drinker of *Math. 23.*
 wine, a friend to Publicans & open offenders,
 but Catholiks (poore men) vnderstand not the
 Scripture, sayth this authour: and why good
 Syr? Heare him I pray you in lesse then six lines
 pleading against vs and for vs, and ouerthrow-
 ing that which he would take vpon him out of
 this text to put vp. These men, sayth he, haue »
 not rightly vnderstood the Scripture, for the »
 saying of the Apostle: *let euery man haue his owne* 1. Cor. 7.
wife, doth except none in very deed, but him »
 only which hath the gift of continency, prefi- »
 xing with himselfe to keep and to continue his »
 virgin (or virginity) in the Lord. Be it so.
 And then if the Priests haue this gift, and haue
 prefixed this course to themselves *in the Lord*, then
 they shall not need to marry, and the Apostles
 words shall not concerne them, or bind them
 to haue their own wiues as it doth other men.
 And this indeed is the very case of all Clergy
 men who vow chastity, and the obseruance of
 their vow resteth in themselves, assisted with
 Gods grace to performe it, as before I haue
 sayd, & so the wordes of S. Paul appertayne not
 vnto them, but to the Laity.

41. M. Hall will perchance demand what if
 one who hath vowed chastity find that he hath
 not this gift, notwithstanding he hath prefixed
 the same to himself *in the Lord*: shall he then be in-
 continent & not marry? I say that neither the
 one or other is allowable, not the first which
 is neuer lawfull, not the later which is vnlaw-
 full to him: and this is decayed euen in the ve-
 ry next words of this Epistle, where the Author

M. Hall
S. Huldrick
plea-
deth a-
gainst
him.

thus speaketh to the Pope: Wherefore, o reuerend Father, it shall be your part to cause and ouersee, that whosoeuer either with hand or mouth hath made a vow of continency (as all Clergymen in holy orders haue) & afterwards would forsake the same, should be either compelled to keep his vow, or els by lawfull authority should be deposed from his order. So there: in which words you see both a compulsion for the obseruance of the vow, & deposition from their order in the transgressours, both which suppose an ability in the vowmaker of performing his vow, or els the suggestion of M. Hall his S. *Vdalyricke* had beene very iniurious, vnlawfull and tyrannicall, as imposing a punishment where there was no voluntary offence, and the thing for which he is punished was impossible for him in our Protestants opinion to perform: as that Prince should be a tyrant, who should put any subiect of his to one of these extremes, either to leese the office and dignity he hath in the common wealth, or els to pull the Sunne downe from heauen, or remoue the earth into a higher place within three miles of the concavity of the Moone.

42. And seeing this doctrine deliuered in the Epistle fathered on S. *Huldricke* is so contrary to the doctrine of this Epistle of M. *Hall*, who will haue such vows to be filthy, & the keeping of them to include an impossible necessity, it was great temerity & inconsiderate dealing in him to offer to be cast in his cause, if this epistle do not satisfy all Readers, when as it is so far from satisfying all Readers, as it doth not satisfy him-
selfe

selfe, who wil haue all such votaryes to change their vowes as filthy, and to purify themselues by marriage, and make practicall tryall of *Iohn Fox* his note, *what it is to marry in the Lord*, contrary to this Epistle, as you haue seene: which being so I make this collection as euident to me as any mathematicall demonstration, that *M. Hall* neither careth for his wife, nor for his fidelity, nor for his cause. Not for his wife, because he offered to be punished by a diuorce, if he euicted not all Clergy mens marriage, which he hath not done, or is able euer to do whils he liueth: not for his fidelity, which he pawned to leese on any decree to be shewed more ample then that of the *Trullan* Councell for the marriage of Ecclesiasticall men, which now he hath seene, & that in such excesse, as in respect thereof the *Trullan* Canon was but like the positive degree in respect of the superlative: not for his cause, which he aduentureth on this Epistle, in which notwithstanding euen in the point in controuerly debated between vs, he is both cast and condemned: for we graunt a solemne vow of chastity to be made in taking of orders, which this epistle will not haue broken, but eyther by compulsion to be kept, or punished by deposition, so carelesse a husband, so bad a Christian, so weake a protectour he is, or els which I rather thinke so light witted a man, as he will offer vpon any occasion to aduenture all he hath, be it his wife, cause or credit, though the conditions on which he doth it be neuer so vnequall, disaduantagious, or preiudiciall ynto him.

M. Hall
neither
careth for
his wife,
nor for his
credit, nor
for his
cause.

Extreme
folly to
make no
doubt of
that which
is only
doubted
of.

Aeneas Si-
lurius hath
no menti-
on of the
counter-
feit epistle
of S. V-
dalricus.

43. Before I end this matter, I will come from M. Halls text vnto his margent, where first he maketh this note saying: Whether *Huldericus* or (as he is some where intituled) *Volusianus*, I enquire not, the matter admits no doubt. So he. But this is extreme folly: for it importeth all in all to know the true Author, when all the credit of the thing reporteth, lyeth thereon, as heere it doth, or els any may obtrude whatsoever broken peece of a letter they shal find on the dunghill to be written by some Father, & the thing shall challeng authority from the writer: and this thing neuer hauing beene scene, or heard of in the world before can haue no credit if it were only written by some late sectary, as we haue inst cause to suspect, and M. Hall cannot disproue, whereas if he could proue it written by S. *Huldricke*, we should more esteeme it, and answer it with more regard, the authority being greater in the behalfe of our Aduersaryes, then if it had beene coyned by some *Magdeburgiä* or els by some Sacramentary, either moderne or more ancient. To auoyd the suspicion of this imposture, M. Hall cyteth againe his learned Pope *Pius 2.* or *Aeneas Silsius in sua Germania*, which title *Iohn Fox* setteth downe more fully saying: *Meminit eiusdem epistola Aeneas Siluius in sua peregrinatione, & Germaniae descriptione. Aeneas Siluius* maketh mention of this letter in his pilgrimage, and description of *Germany*: but it should seem that *Iohn Fox* his wit was gone in pilgrimage, or or els a wollgathering when he made this note: for after some search I haue made of his bookes (& I thinke I haue better meanes to find them

out

out, then Fox had) I can find none extant vnder the one or other title, nor yet vnder the title of his *Germany*, as M. Hall expresseth it, neither doth *Trithemius* in his catalogue, or *Possennius* in *Apparatu*, where they set downe all the bookes they could find of this Pope, mention any such worke, and so the mention made of this letter in this *Pilgrimage* is a meere idle toy, framed out of the wandring imagination of *Iohn Fox*, and vpon to light credit taken vp by M. Hall. There is in his workes extant an answer to one *Martin Mayer*, for defence of the holy Roman Church, in which he describeth some parts of *Germany* by which he had passed, and speaking of *Aus-purg* he sayth as the Germans haue printed him in *Basil*: *S. Vdalricus huic praesidet qui Papam arguit de concubinis &c.* *S. Vdalricus* is patron of this place, who reprehended the Pope for concubines: it lyeth by the riuer *Licus*. So he, as these Sacramentaryes haue set him out. Which being all graunted belongeth not to this matter in hand, but concerneth only the bad life of the young Pope *Iohn*, then thrust by force of friends, and maintayned by tyranny in that seat, which abuse the Church is forced sometymes to suffer as temporall states do ill Princes: but in the one and the other personall crimes, as they tend to the impeachment of private fame, so nothing derogate from publike authority: in such the office is to be considered apart from the life, as *Moses* his chayre from the Pharisees who sat thereon, their power wereuerence, their liues we abhorre, no state so high, no calling so holy, no function so laudable, but ill men haue beene

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 found therein: and if once we confound the life
 with the office, and out of the vnworthynes of
 the one inferre the denyall of the other, we
 shall leaue no Pope, Bishop, Priest, Emperour,
 King or other Magistrate whatsoeuer: and this,
 supposing these to be the words of *Aeneas Silvius*,
 of which I haue some cause to doubt, both for
 that I haue seene a printed copy without them,
 and moreover I haue seen three Manuscripts, of
 which as two were lately written & had them,
 so the 3. which was much more ancient, in the
 text had them not, but in the margent only, by
 which meanes forged glosses so creep in often
 tymes, as they com at length to be printed with
 the wordes of the Author: but howsoeuer, to
 this purpose they make nothing, and the other
 whom M. H. liioyneth with him, to wit *Gaspard
 Hedio* a late heretike, is of no credit to iustify this
 matter, no more then M. *John Fox*, *Ioseph Hall*, or
 any other professed aduersary.

The Au-
 thor of
 the forged
 epistle vn-
 certaine.

44. Againc, it is another vntruth to say,
 that somewhere he is intituled *Volusianus*: for
 though *Benefield* against M. *Leech* call the Author
 of that letter *Volusianus*, yet doubles he meaneth
 another man distinct from S. *Vdalricke* who was
 neuer named *Volusianus* by any writer, and this
 maketh the whole tale more to reele, seeing it is
 obruded as a base child that knoweth not his
 owne Fathers name: and if once we remoue it
 from S. *Vdalricke* (to whome as I haue proued
 it cannot agree) the thing leeseeth all credit, and
 proueth nothing but the corrupt dealing of such
 as allcage it: for this *Volusianus* is a name inuen-
 ted to make fooles fayne, no man knowing
 what

what he was, where he was borne, when he lived, of what calling or credit in the world, whether of kyt or kin to the man in the Moon, for he neuer lived on our inferiour orbe vnder the first, second, or third *Nicholas*: if I might interpolate my ghesse, I should thinke him to be brother to *Steuens* the subdeacon before mentioned out of *Gratian*, for that he is so ready to father the fatherles, and take a child to his charge which he neuer begot.

45. But, sayth *M. Hall*, the matter admits no doubt: which is another vntruth: for whether by the word *matter* *M. Hall* vnderstand the Authour of the letter, or the contents themselus, both are doubted, yea both are denyed, and to take that for graunted which resteth in controuerfy to be proued, is a foule fault in Philosophy, and called *petitio principij*: as if one to credit *M. Hall*, and to proue that for his learning he deserueth to be esteemed against one who should deny him to be learned at all, should thus conclude: All learned men deserue to be esteemed: but *M. Hall* as I suppose is a learned man: Ergo he is for such to be esteemed: no man will allow that he suppose the *Minor* as graunted, which only is called in question and alone needeth no prooffe, which if we apply to the present matter, we shall find in a different subiect the same argument. We deny that euer *S. Huldricke* wrote any such epistle, how doth *M. Hall* proue it? thus, whether you call him *S. Huldricus* or *Volusianus* the matter admits no doubt but that he wrote it, to which put this *Minor*, but he who wrote the letter is Authour thereof, Ergo *S.*

Petitio principij
a foule
fault in a
Philosopher.

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Huldericke is the Author. An argument more fit
 for some *Grillus*, *Corebus*, *Alogus*, some *Patch*, *Ioll*, or
VVill Sommer, then *M. Hall*.

A foule
 Chrono-
 graphically
 error
 touching
 the tyme
 when S.
Hulderick
 lived.

46. There telleth one more vntruth in the
 margent, which is Chronographical about the
 tyme when S. *Huldericke* liued, that you may
 perceauie how this man in all things is rash and
 negligent: if he dispute his arguments be loose,
 if he cyte Authours their authoryties are either
 mistaken or corrupted; if he inferre one thing
 out of another, it is by wrong illation, & takes
quid for quo, the contrary to that which doth fol-
 low of his premises, if for more exactnes he go
 about to reduce things to their proper tyme, 20.
 or thirty years difference is not to be regarded:
 for to be exact is against his reputation, he will
 not be taken for such a precision, and therefore
 heere he telleth vs, *Huldericus Episcopus Augusta an-*
no 860. which is iust thirty yeares before he
 was borne, and yet after his birth he liued ei-
 ther thirty three, or thirty foure before he was
 made Bishop: so as he is heere made to be Bishop
 of *Auspurg* more then threescore years before his
 tyme: are not these men exact writers trow you
 on whose fidelity so many men with such assu-
 rance may rely their saluation?

An vn-
 truth ioy-
 ned with
 a contra-
 diction.

47. And to end all this matter as though
 he had not hitherto giuen vs vntruths inough,
 he addeth for the finall vpshot one more, & that
 also combyned with a contradiction when he
 sayth: after *Vdalricus* (so strong did he plead and
 so happily) for two hundred yeares more this
 freedom still blessed these parts, yet notwith-
 out extreme opposition: historyes are witnesse
 of

of the busy and not vnlearned combats of those
 tymes in this argument. So he. And I cannot
 but tell him out of the Comicke: *Non sat commo-
 de diuifa sunt temporibus tibi Daue hac*: These tymes
 agree no better then did the other of S. *Vdalricke*
 letter to the first *Nicholas*: and vntrue it is that e-
 uer he pleaded so happily, so strongly, who ne-
 uer opened his mouth in this controuersy, vn-
 true it is that this carnal freedome blessed these
 parts for two hundred yeares more after his
 death: for vnder Pope *Gregory* the seauenth he
 confesseth presently after, that this cause was vt-
 terly ruined, and betweene the death of these
 two, I meane S. *Vdalricke* & *Gregory* the seauenth
 there is but one hundred and twelue yeares, and
 whereas that Pope dealt in that matter some
 yeares before his death, it will follow euen by
 the graunt of M. *Hall* himselve, that this cause
 so strongly, so happily pleaded for, in the com-
 passe of one age was quite ouerborne, and vter-
 ly ruined, so as by this account M. *Hall* in setting
 downe two hundred yeares, reckoneth only but
 one hundred too much, which is not much in
 him, so subiect euery where to errour, and so
 careles in his assertions, as almost nothing com-
 meth from him out of any learning or truth,
 that is in Controuersy betweene vs.

48. Again there is a manifest contradi-
 ction in these words: for if vpon this *strong and*
happy pleading this freedome blessed the parts of
 the *Latin Church*, how had it such extreme op-
 position? for before this tyme there was nothing
 els in M. *Halls* iudgment, but full possession of
 this freedome, and the contrary not to haue pre-

The ima-
 ginary
 pleading
 of S. V-
 dalricus
 neither
 strong nor
 happy.

wayled till more then a thousand yeares after Christ, so as all the blessing was before S. *Vdalricks* pleading, and all the opposition after, and how is not that pleading to beheld rather weak and vnlucky, then strong and happy, which had no other effect then extreme opposition, and quite ouerthrow of the cause defended by that plea? For what successe could be more vnfortunate, then to be cast in a cause so vehemently vrged, debated with such heate, and that betweene the supreme Pastour for authority, and a most eminent Bishop for sanctity of those times? which contradiction is made more palpable by the next ensuing words in his letter: for thus he writeth.

A heap of
vntruths.

49. But now when the body of *Antichristianisme* began to be complet (so it pleaeth this light Companion to prattle) and to stand vp in his absolute shape after a thousand yeares from Christ, this liberty which before waned vnder *Nicholas* the first, now by the handes of *Leo* the ninth, *Nicholas* the second, and that brand of hell *Gregory* the seauenth was vtterly ruined, wiues debarred, single life vrged. So M. Hall. And truly if *Leo* the 9. and *Nicholas* the second ruined this matter, this plea had so short a blessing, and so quicke a crosse, as it remayned on foote little more then fifty yeares, and that still in continuall contradiction vntill it was extinguished, and so, as before out of two hundred we rebated one, so out of that one we must take another halfe, & leaue him but fifty if his owne words be true, that this was ruined by *Leo* the ninth, as heere he pretendeth, and the blessing he talketh

talketh of is resolved to this, that presently this marriage matter was contradicted, and the contradiction so followed as it prevailed: and this supposing what he sayth to be true of these men and matter, which yet are so false, as they con- teyne in them, to speake the least, more lyes, then lines, which I will briefly touch in order.

50. The first is, that vnder these Popes the body of *Antichristianisme* began to be complete, for all the Popes he nameth, to wit, *Nicolas* the first, *Leo* the ninth, *Nicolas* the second, and *Gregory* the 7. were all very holy men, all learned, all excellent Governours of Christs Church, and, the second *Nicolas* excepted, all registred in the Catalogue of Saints: and our Protestants of the primitive Church in England were wont to tell vs, that this body was complete in the tyme of *Boniface* the third, whome idly they would haue to be that singular *Antichrist* descrybed in *Daniels* prophesy, and the *Apocalyps* of *S. Iohn*, & some haue much laboured to draw the number of his name to agree vnto the tyme whē he was made Pope, with other impertinencies: and it *M. Hall* make the denyall of Priests marriage the complemen- tall perfection of this body (for all the heauen and happynes which these men haue, is in their wiues, and whatsoeuer saours or saours not, that is *Antichristian*) then was it complete for some hundreds of years before any of them were borne or thought on, as the authorities of Fa- thers and Councils before allcaded do demon- strate.

51. The next is, that this freedome was still allowed, vntill a thousand yeares after Christ,

A lye in
print.

Christ, to wit, that all Priests might marry, but this is to grosse a lye, and fitter for him to make who is father of lyes, then for any of his children or schollers. I see the Philosopher well to haue aduised a lyar (though M. Hall follow not his aduise) *oportet mendacem esse memorem*, he who will lye must haue a good memory, & remember what he hath sayd in one place, that he do not contradict it in another, and so be taken

M. Hal of in the manner, as heere this honest man is, who
a very two leas before told vs out of *Steuens* the second
weake that in the Western Church no one of the Cler-
memory gy from the Subdeacō to the Bishop had leaue
to marry, & whereas this *Steuens* was made Pope
in the year 752. that is two hundred forty and
eight yeares before the thousand, how doth he
heere tell vs, that after a thousand yeares from
Christ this liberty which before wauered was
ruined &c. what liberty do you meane M. Hall?
of Clergy mens marriage? then your memory
is very short: for what freedome was there in
Steuens tyme, when none from the Subdeacon to
the Bishop might marry? or what did all the
Popes you heere name add vnto this restraint?
Again, the first wordes of your *Trullan* decree
made more thē forty yeares before this *Steuens* was
Pope, do cleane cast and condemne you, as con-
fessing euen then the Church of *Rome* to haue
decreed the single life of the Clergy.

The third
vntruth.

52. The third vntruth is, that this freedome
wauered in the tyme of *Nicholas* the first, who
was made Pope in the year 858. for in all his
tyme, as before I sayd no such matter was euer
mentioned, none discusled, and it seemeth to
me

me very strange to heare M. Hall to talke of Freedom vnder this Nicholas for marriage that should of the wauer, when as out of Steuens testimony and his Clergy owne Councell, a hundred yeares before, no long in Subdeacon, Deacon, Priest, or Bishop was permitted to marry: for where at that tyme was this freedome? in the Greeke Church perhaps? but how was their marriage ruined by these Popes, their wiues debarred, single life vrged, when as stil that incontinent Clergy continued as before, as still borne out by their violent Emperours, and schismatical Patriarkes? if he meane of the Latin Church, as needs he must: then I aske him againe in Pope Steuens tyme where was this freedome? where in the tyme of the Trullan Synod? where before? where after? when did it first come in? when went it out? by what authority was it done? by what Author recorded? and can such great mutation be made, and no memory left thereof to posterity? I thinke not.

53. The fourth is, when he sayth: Now by the hands of Leo the ninth &c. for what in this matter did this Leo? truly no more then Nicholas: for there is extant in his life set out by Baronius in his history, but one decree of his touching this matter, which M. Hall may be ashamed to apply to this purpose, vnles he meane to plead for the freedome of all harlots, as well as for his wife: for these are the words of that decree as S. Peter Damian relateth them, in whome only they are extant, and who perhaps was present at the Councell: Leo Papa (sayth he) constituit vt quacumq; damnabiles femina intra Romana mœnia repe-

Single life of the Clergy vse euen by M. Hals own Authours before the tyme of Nicholas the first.

Petrus' Dam. ep. ad Cnnibertū Episcopū Taurinens.

viventur Presbyteris prostituta, ex tunc & deinceps Lateranensi palatio adjudicarentur ancilla. Leo the Pope ordeyned that whatsoeuer wicked women should be found within the walls of Rome to haue bynought with Priests, from thence forward should be conderaned as seruing mayds to the Lateran pallace. So he. And in this place as the same Anthour sayth, they were to remaine vnder a penitentiall habit and rule: and that such were truly harlots appeareth out of the same letter, where after he sayth: *Quas deprehenderis sacrilega Presbyteris admixtione prostratas.* I hope M. Hall will make some difference betwixt his wife and such a one, and then I inferre that Pope Leo of Priests marriages made no decree, but only punished their concubines, and that only in the citty of Rome: and this Minister deserues little thanks of his fellowes, that in pleading for their wiues, taketh all lawes made by any Pope against lewd harlots, to haue been also made against them, as though Ministers wiues & such people did *conuenire vniuersè*, and were all of one predicament.

The fifth
vnttruth.

54. The fifth vnttruth is, that he maketh Nicholas the second to be one of those who denyed marriage to Priests, or rather who ruined their marriages with Leo, and Gregory: for he likewise neuer dealt about marriages at all, and concerning the incontinent Clergy in his tyme one decree of his touching Priests we find in Gratian: *Nullus Missam audiat Presbyteri quem scit concubinam indubitanter habere &c.* Let no man heare the masse of a Priest, which he certainly knoweth to keep a concubine: which point is there

Gratian.

dis. 32.

c. Nullus.

put

put vnder excommunication by the Synod. M. Hall seemsto be of toto iealousa disposition, that can heare nothing spoken of concubines, but presently his mind runnes on Ministers wiues: and there was no need for Nicholas to deny marriage vnto Priests, when as such in the Church of Millan as after holy orders had knowne their wiues, or had maintayned that they might be knowne, accused themselves of the heresy of the Nicolaitis, before S. Peter Damian sent thither vpon the report of their scandalous incontinency, & that without al cōpulsion or inforcemēt in this forme of words: *Nicolaitarum quoq; haresim nihilominus condemnamus &c.* We do notwithstanding »
condemne the heresy of the Nicolaitis, and as »
much as lyeth in vs vnder the oath asorlayd do »
promise to keep backe not only Priests, but dea- »
cons and subdeacons from all filthy copulation »
of their wiues, or concubins. So the Bishop of »
Millan: to his Clergy.

55. Last of all it is another vntruth, that The six
vnder Gregory the seauenth (whom this rayling vntruth.
companion calleth the brand of hell) the mar-
riage of Priests was ruined, because it neuer had The mar-
so deep roote in the Latin Church as in his time: riage of
for Henry the Emperours variance with this Priests
Pope, gaue liberty to that loose Clergy, to put more rui-
themselves out of order, and withdraw their ned by o-
necks from the yoke of Ecclesiasticall disciplin, ther sue-
as the turmoyls of our Conquerour caused the like ceeding
in England at the same tyme, the Diuell taking Pops then
the aduantage of such occasions to breake by Gre-
the peace of the Church, as well knowing his best gory the
fishing to be in troubled waters, and by setting seauenth,
debate

debate betweene the Ecclesiasticall Gouvernours and the temporall, to put all the members, and whole frame of the one & other body into mutiny, tumult, and disorderly confusion: neither did this end with Gregory, but continued after his death, as we see in *Vrbán* the second, *Paschalis* the second, and others, who insisting on the steps of their famous predecessour Gregory the seauenth, still by censures condemned that beastly abuse, neuer so much in vse in the *Latin* Church as in their dayes, and therefore *Gregories* successours may better be sayd to haue ruined *M. Halls* freedome and felicity, then Gregory, who left the matter more on foot perhaps then he found it, and by reason of the great hatred the Emperor bare his person, & sway which he had in *Germany*, was not able to cure this festlered wound, though afterwards the constant courage of other Popes succeeding, especially of *Vrbán* the second in whose tyme by foure Councils it was expressly condemned, got the victory, & quite cut it off by the roote.

Council.
Constant.
Melfitanū
Can. 2.
Placentin.
Can. 4.
Claramon.
Can. 9.

56. Which thing much troubleth *M. Hall*, and therefore that you may know the mans modesty, thus out of *Auentine* a late Gospelling brother he inferreth of their famous endeauours in preserving the Ecclesiasticall state in her wonted cleanes by excommunicating such who after their vows tooke wiues. A good turne for whore-maisters, sayth *Auentine*, who now for one wife might haue six hundred bed-fellows. So *M. Hall*: but I see not how this inference can hold, vules *M. Hall* meane, as he seemes to do, that though Clergy men were debarred wiues; yet they were permitted

M. Halls
 modesty.

mitted to haue concubines: for so his wordes import, that by the debarring of Priests marriage, they gaue them leaue that euery one might now haue six hundred bed-fellowes, but that is a molt impudent vntruth: for all the former Popes who had any contradiction with Ecclesiasticali men in this kind, except Gregory the 7. made all their Canons and decrees against concubines only, and thereupon began all his combat in England, and els where, though afterwards vice taking deeper roote, some of those who kept concubines shaking off all shame (the ill gouernement of Princes, and lacke of vigour in the Bishops giuing way to this wantonnes) began to take them for their wiues, & this molt of al in Germany in the tyme of this Gregory, who therefore made his decrees against both, as well such as kept concubines, as the other who were married, and put them both vnder the like censures, because both did violate the vow they had made of perpetuall chastity: and if the promise made in marriage byndeyther part to be true to other, and neuer during life to be separated by a second marriage; why shall not a promise made to God who neuer dyeth, perpetuallly bind him that promiseth during his life, seeing the promise is voluntary, the thing promised laudable, the performance easy, the reward glorious?

57. Againe, if one already married do marry another, the second marriage is inuallide and of no force, because his former wife is liuing (& the same of the woman in respect of her husband) but is to be esteemed aduowtry, because the former band still knitteth him and the first wife.

The concubines of Priests lesse condemned then their wiues.

The band of chastity by vow, and the band of matrimony compared to a

T

wife

wife together, and cannot be dissolued or broken, but by the death of the one or other party: so this knot of chastity, whereby such as receave holy orders, do by solemne vow bind themselves to God during their life, doth still bynd them for all that tyme, and to offer to breake the same, either by keeping a concubine, or (to colour their filth with a fayre cloke) by taking a wife, is sacrilegious incest, as before we haue shewed: for as the first is vnlawfull to all, and especially (by reason of the annexed scandal) to Clergy men, so is the other as impossible with the former band of his voluntary & premeditated vow as is the second wife in wedlocke with the first: and as this second marriage is no marriage but aduowtry, so is this marriage of Priests no marriage at all, but an honourable title of a most dishonest filthines, with which whiles these men would couer their turpitude, *Damnationem* (sayth the Apostle) *habebunt, quia primam fidem irritam fecerunt*: They incurre damnation, because they haue broken their first vow, which they made of perpetuall chastity vnto Almighty God.

1. Tim. 3.

58. And it must needs seeme strange in the eares of all morall men, to heare these mens collections, who measuring alothers by themselves, no sooner heare that Priests are debarred wiues, but presently gather that they must haue concubines, or as beastly Bale writeth (who in this matter euery where belcheth out ribaldry) *Dun-*

Balam

centur. 2. stant perpetuo decreto firmanis, vt Clerici deinceps sub specioso calibatus titulo Sodomiticè viuerent, aut Ecclesiarum suarum curas omnino dimitterent. Dunstan by a perpetual decree appointed, that Clergy men

for

for the tyme to come vnder the beautifull title of single life, should liue Sodomitically, or altogether forsake their Churches. So he. And who euer read such lying villany? where was this decreed? where mentioned? but there is no meane with these men, either you must marry, or els haue for one wife a hundred harlots, or liue Sodomitically, as though there were no purity out of wedlocke, but extreme turpitude, when as chastity is better, and more easily kept in single life, as *Syr Thomas Moore* was wont to say, then in wedlocke, and marriage is not so sure a bridle, but that besides one wife men will haue more concubines, as appeared well in the first parents and planters of the new Gospell in England, King *Henry* and Queene *Anne Bullen*, for neither could that King be contented at once with one wife, or Queene *Anne* with one husband: for besides the King she had other false louers, of which all our historyes make mention, as *Marke Smeton* the musitian, *Henry Norrice*, *VVilliam Brierton*, *Francis VVeston* Gentlemen, & *George Bollen* Lord *Rochford* her brother, all which had carnally knowne her, al which were arraigned, the first condemned, and executed for their aduowtry, progeny and incest committed with her, and she for the tours of same was beheaded in the tower, & that within lesse then a yeare after that Bishop *Fisher*, and *Syr Thomas Moore* had lost their heads, for not approving her impure marriage, & that which flowed out of that source, for denying the monstrous title of the Kings Ecclesiastical supremacy, neuer before heard of in the Christian World.

*Stapleto's
in vita.*

The incest-
tency of
the first
the En-
glish Gos-
pell.

59. And this I write, not as hauing any list to rocke the stinking cradle of your Ghosts infancy, a worke too vnlawfull, but to shew that we condemne not marriage, although in that state there be many aduowtters: for the abuse is to be sequestred as before I haue sayd from the thing, & the argument were not good to say, single fornication is a lesse sinne then aduowtry, *ergo* it is better for men not to marry but to liue at liberty, & rather chuse to commit the lesser sinne, then to put themselues in danger of the greater, because both are damnable, and all are bound not to commit the one or the other: euen so it fareth in Priests, of whose state we may not as these men euery wher do against all rules of learning, or honestly conclude, that it is better for them to marry, then to keep a concubine, as though they were bound to one of these two extremis, and that their state after their solempne vows, were altogether the same with other lay men, and that it were as free for them to marry as before: for both the one and the other after their promise made to God of perpetuall chastity, is wicked, vnlawfull, and damnable: and we hold not these to be *termini causales*, or to infer one the other, you are bound to auoyd fornication, *ergo* you must needs haue a wife: or on the contrary side, if you haue not a wife, you will haue a *hundred harlots*: for betweene these extremes, there is the single life of such as liue in perpetuall chastity, which any one may follow, and all are bound to follow who haue vowed it, and their marriage is a greater sinne then single fornication with another

Both wius
and con-
cubins to
such as
haue
vowed
chastity
are vn-
lawfull.

ther woman, in regard of the iniury done to the
vow, to the sacrament, to the woman married,
to the issue: to the vow, by breaking the band
made to God, by a contrary band made to his
wife, which euen in ciuill contracts among men
is held vnlawfull: to the Sacrament of matri-
mony, in that he maryeth who is not capable of
marriage, & so prophanely abuseth that which
by our Sauours institution is sacred: to the wo-
man he married, for the being perswaded that
it is true & lawful matrimony, liueth continu-
ally in sacrilegious incest, being indeed not his
wife, but an infamous concubine: to his issue,
because it is vnlawfull and bastardly by the Ca-
non law. Such is the happynes of this free-
dome.

The mar-
riage of a
Priest
doth iniu-
ry to 4. at
once, to
the vow,
to the Sa-
crament,
to the wo-
man, to
the issue.

60. But to end this matter, M. Hall not cō-
tented to haue called Pope Gregory the seauenth
the brand of hell, vrgeth further against him, how
his decrees were contemned, himselfe was de-
posed, and that the Churches did ring of him
ech where for *Antichrist*: let vs heare his owne
wordes, and then discusse them. But how ap-
proued those decrees were of the better sort
(sayth he) appeares (besides that the Churches
did ring of him ech where for *Antichrist*) in that
at the Councell of *VVorms*, the French and Ger-
man Bishops deposed this Gregory in this name
(among other quarrels) for separating man &
wife: violence did this not reason, neither was
Gods will heere questioned, but the Popes wil-
fullnes, what broyles heereon ensued, let *Auentine*
witness. Hitherto M. Hall. There is no remedy,
will we, nill we, this man will begin, will go
forward,

M. Hall's
false accu-
sation of
Gregory
the 7. re-
futed.

forward, will end with vntruths, for heere are three more at the least, or to speake more plainly, no one true word in the whol narration: but first let vs consider in a word or two the thing it selfe.

Where
there is
enmity
betweene
Princes
there is al-
so most
common-
ly open
detractiō
of each o-
ther.

61. Dayly experience teacheth vs, that where once enmity enters between Princes and men of authority, how easy, how frequent a thing it is to deuise bitter speeches against one the other, and that because both will seeme to haue been iniured, both to haue iustice on their side, both to mayntayne a lawfull quarrell, and whatsoeuer the aduerse part doth though neuer so well, or themselues though neuer so ill, all are so couered ouer with new coates, crests, and mantles, as a lambe shall seeme a wolfe, a fearefull hare a fierce lyon, and on the contrary side in behalfe of themselues, a Tiger shall be tame, and the rude Beare a beautifull beast: wherefore from the partyes so interested no sound & vnpariall iudgment can be expected, but that is to be sought from others, who being free frō faction, and capacity sufficient to discern the grounds of the whole contention, shall with all candour deliuer the same: and there can be no greater coniecturall signe that any Prince mainteyneth a wrong cause, then to see his own subjects of most power, learning, and credit to disclayme from him, to rise, to write against him, to condemne his actions, and vtterly to forsake him: and this not only happened in *Germany* to *Henry* the fourth in this quarrell with *Gregory* the seauenth, but in all other nations at that tyme: and all other writers since of any name,

or

or not haue condemned him, and prayſed the Pope, or if any mercenary companion haue ſet his ſoule to ſale, and betrayed truth for temporall rewards, as the number of ſuch hath bene few, ſo hath their memory bene infamous, their credits crazed, and their reports as partial, as iniurious, as lying, by all (heretiks only excepted who place all their hope in lying) been diſesteemed.

62. In the tyme of *Gregory* the ſeauenth ten Authours are cyted by *Bellarmino* to haue defended him, all graue, learned and holy men, and the chiefest for name or fame that then liued, of which the two *SS. Anſelmes* were moſt eminent, to wit ours of *Canterbury*, and the other of *Luca*, whole ſanctity euen by the testimony of *Sigebert* the ſchiſmaticall monke, and fauourer of the Emperour was declared by God in many miracles which he wrought: and a little after theſe men by twenty two other Authours recounted by the ſame Cardinall, of which ſome report that he ſhined with miracles, as *Martinus Polonus*, *Lambertus Shaffnaburgensis* and others, ſome that he had the gift of prophely, as *Vincentius* the French Hiſtoriographer, ſome that he was moſt conſtant in Eccleſiaſticall rigour, as *Otho Friſingensis*, and *Naclerus*: in fine for his ſingular zeale, learning, vertue, iudgment, and perſeuerance vntill the end, all writers cyted in the Cardinall giue him an honourable testimony, to which I will adioyne two others by him pretermitted, but both of them graue and learned, and ſuch as no one who fauoured the Emperour is to be compared with all.

17. Authours al-
leaded by *Bellarmino* in defence of Pope *Gregory* the ſeauenth.

Vincentius in Speculo. l. 25. c. 44.

Oth. lib. 6.

cap. 32.

Nacl.

Generas.

36. Vide

Genebrar.

in Chroni.

co anno

1073.

Schedel.
Registro
Ebron.
1514. 6.

Gregories
life and
death
most lau-
dable.

Baronius
& alij.

Carolus
Sigonius
de regno
Italiae l. 9.

63. The first is *Harimannus Schedellus* a German who stileth Gregory: *Virum Deo & hominibus gratissimum, prudentem, iustum &c.* A man most grateful to God and man, wise, iust, meeke, the patron and protectour of the poore, of pupils, of widdowes, the only and most eager defender of the Roman Church against the wickednes of heretikes, and power of wicked Princes, vsurping by force Ecclesiasticall goods. So he. And this *Encomium* belongeth not as you see to a brand of bell, or a proclaimed *Antichrist*, but to a vertuous and most excellent Pastour, to a man of singular zeale and sanctity: & conforme to these his rare vertues, and vndaunted courage in Gods cause, from which no threats of his potent enemy, no perswasion of his seduced friends, no humane respect whatsoeuer was able to transport or moue him: conform I say to these was his death, the end conspiring with the beginning, and laudable continuance of his whole life: for so the same Authour sayth that he dyed *sanctè & pè*, faintly and deuoutly, which death hapning vnto him in banishment at *Salerno*, others recount how in his death bed he vsed these words: *Dilexi iustitiã, & odio habui iniquitatem, propterea morior in hoc exilio.* I haue loued iustice, and hated iniquity, & for that cause do I dye in this banishment. A happy loue, a happy hatred, and most happy banishment, all which are now rewarded with their due deserued crowns of immortall glory.

64. The other author is *Carolus Sigonius* in that admired worke of his *de regno Italia* in the 9. booke, who hauing seene all the whole matter, and

and much prayſed the worthines of this Pope, he ſheweth the firſt roote of all the diſcord between him & the Emperour, to haue proceeded from cerſeyne licentious Biſhops of Germany, appalled at his election, as well knowing his courage and ſeuerity againſt al vice and vicious behauiour: *Gregorius* (ſayth he) *ingeny yehementis* zealous, and of ſingular piety towards the Church, the Biſhops of Germany being affrighted with his notable ſeuerity, and immoveable conſtancy in reforming Eccleſiaſtical diſciplin preſently feared ſome ſharp correction of their liues, & ſeuere chaſtiſement of their diſorders, and therfore going to the Emperour, they willed him to diſannul his election, or els to expect nothing els but all the power of this Pope to be bent againſt his crown. So *Sigonius*. So as we ſee that ſtil wicked Prelates againſt the due correction of their Superiours, haue armed themſelues with ſecular power, and auoyded that by force, which by all equity and iuſtice they ſhould haue vndergone.

The lewd Biſhops of Germany ſtir vp the Emperour againſt the Pope.

65. And that which made the vigour of this vigilant Paſtour more odious, were the perſons with whome he was to encounter, which were the wicked Emperour, *Robert Guiscard* the Norman Duke, who by force had entred vpon the poſſeſſions of the Church, had al *Sicily*, and a great part of *Italy* in his hands, and all the incontinent Clergy of Germany, and els where: to oppoſe againſt al theſe was to expoſe himſelf to all obloquies, iniuries, and villanyes that either the power of ſo potent Princes, or the

The perſons and perſonall crimes oppoſed againſt by Gregory made his vertuous conſtancy more odious.

malice of so many impure tongues could deuise against him, neither were the persons more great then their faults heynous: for thus sayth the same Authour: *Erant grauia illa flagitia coercenda ne sacerdotia venderentur &c.* These grieuous faults in particuler were to be corrected by this Pope
 * the selling of Bishopricks or parsonages by ta-
 * king the inuestiture or possession of them from
 * the Emperour, or other lay men, that Clergy
 * men should haue wiues, that the temporall do-
 * minions of the Church might not wrongfully
 be molested or alienated. So he. Who goeth on shewing what this most famous Pastour did for remedy of all these disorders, and with what successe, which I omit because in the matter we now speake off M. Hall assigneth him the conquest for this carnall liberty; which (sayth he) *wauered vnder Nicholas the first, now by the hands of Leo the ninth, Nicholas the second, and that Brand of bell Gregory the seauenth was vnterly ruined, wiues debarred (a pittifull case) single life vrged.*

66. Now if from the Pope we cast our eyes on his Antagonist Henry the Emperour, by whose means, as *Huldericus Musius* the Zuinglian writeth
 Henry the 4. euen in this liberty of Priests taking wiues in Germany
 the iudg- tooke such deep root, for by the fruit you shall
 ment of know the tree, and cause by the effect, we shall
 Calvin a find so much in graue Authors reported of him,
 most wic- as he may well be sayd to be the father of this
 ked Em- deformed child, & chiefe Proctour of this car-
 perour. nall cause: for of all Christian Emperours that e-
 uer were he is one of the worst, if not the worst
 of all others: and to omit Catholike Authours
 both for auoyding prolixity, and for that their
 words

words haue not so great weight against these men, though neuer so learned, graue, or holy, thus *Caluin*, to whome I hope *M. Hall* will giue some credit, doth paint him out: *Henricus eius nominis quartus &c.* Henry the fourth of that name a light and rash man, of no wit, of great audacity and dissolute life: for whereas he had all the Bishopricks of Germany partly at sale, partly layd open as a booty to be pilfered by his Courtiers, *Hildebrand* who had before beene prouoked by him, tooke this plausible pretext to reueng himselfe vpon him, and because he seemed to prosecute a good and pious cause, he was furthered by the fauour of many, & Henry was otherwise for his more insolent manner of gouerning hated of most Princes. So *Caluin*. And a little after: *Huc accessit, quod multi deinde Imperatores &c.* To this may be added that many Emperours which followed after, were more like vnto this Henry then vnto *Iulius Caesar*, whome it was no great maistry to vanquish: for hauing all things secure they loytered at home &c. this was the conceite which *Caluin* had of this Emperour, by whose procurement all the rumors were rayled against *Gregory*, and this testimony (which yet in that Authour is rare to find) carrying so great truth with it in respect of the Emperour, and agreement with other historyes, I will rest thereon, and from this generall inspection of the Authours of the beginning and origen of this controuersy, in a word or two examine all the particulars of *M. Halls* accusation.

67. These vntuths of whose words before cyted are couched so thicke together, as he may

Caluin. 4. Instit. c. 12 §. 33.

The like hath *Auentinus* the Lutheran of him.

M. Halle
vntruths
touching
Gregory
the 7. are
exami-
ned.

The wic-
kednes of
William
Bishop of
Mastrick,

may seeme heere to haue strived to try how many lyes he could well vtter in a few lines: for first it is an vntruth to say, that such as misliked or rather condemned the decreec of Pope Gregory were the better sort, for then the best of them, I meane *William* Bishop of *Mastrick* in *Flanders*, had neuer come to that disastrous end, as the histories do mention that he did: for none was more earnest for the Emperour, none more eager against the Pope, none a greater enemy to a order, none dealt more, none so much in that Councell of *Vormes* as he: for he forced *Adalbert* Bishop of *Herbipolis* or *Virtzburg*, and *Herimannus* Bishop of *Mets* to subscribe against the Pope, & was, as *Baronius* out of *Lambertus* and others hold him, the only Authour of that schisme, the Emperour doing nothing without his counsaile & direction: and when by the Pope afterwards as well he as the Emperour were both excommunicated for the same, he being at *Mastricke* when the newes therof was brought him, the Emperour being also there, at the tyme of *Masse* according to his wont he preached vnto the people, taught them to contemne the Popes excommunication, laughed and made sport at the sentence, and being eloquent in speech, vsed all the art he could to make light all Ecclesiastical censures, to extenuate the Popes authority, to complaine of the wrong done him, and to canuase part by part the iudiciall sentence made against him, which to that wicked Emperour and his light Courtiers made good pastime.

68. But these merry sermons ended not so merrily: for after the holy dayes of Easter ended,

ded, & the Emperour departed, this Bishop till Bruno in
continuing on his wonted veyne of ielting, ray-
ling, and contemning all authority, euen in the
pulpit, within lesse then two moneths after the
Councell of Wormes, he fell sicke, went home,
and the disease increasing there stood by him
one of the Emperours family, who ready to de-
part after the Emperour, asked what he would
command him to his Maister: mary (quoth the
Bishop) I send him this message: *Quod ipse, &*
ego, & omnes eius iniquitati fauentes damnati sumus in
perpetuum. That he, and I, and all such as fauour
his wickednes are damned for euer: this was the
last message he sent his ghostly child Henry the
fourth: and being rebuked by some of his Cler-
gy, who were about him for his desperate
speech, he answered them: I can say no other-
wise then I see and find: for the Diuels enuiron
my bed round about, that they may take my
soule as soone as it is separated from the body, &
therefore when I shall be dead, I request you, &
all faithfull people, that you trouble not your
selues in praying for my soule. So this most
miserable man, the authour and inciter of this
tragedy departed this life. Who whether he
were of the better sort needs no declaration, for
God giuing the sentence who neuer in such
matters forsaketh his friends, the matter is out
of all doubt or controuersy.

69. And the Authour I follow hauing set
downe this narration, with some more particu-
lars which I let passe, thus further discourseth:
Et cur cum solum dico miserabiliter obusse? cum manife-
stum sit omnes fere Henrici familiares & fideles aequè
miseras

A heauy
message.

Despera-
tion.

Bruno in
hist belli
saxonici

*miseras mortes incurrisse, & eos miseros qui fuerant illi
fideliores, quod fides illa verè erat perfidia.* And why do

The fol-
lowers of
Henry the
4. M.
Halls bet-
ter sort of
men dyed
miserably.

when as it is euident almost all the faythfull friends of Henry to haue had the like miserable ends, and those more miserable who were more faythfull vnto him, because that fidelity was nothing els but plaine perfidiousnes. So he. And then setteth down many particulers of the ends of the chiefest Authours, instigateurs and followers of the Emperour in all his bad courses, which were very strange, disastrous, and lamentable. The Patriark who sent from the Pope, by seduction adhered after vnto Henry, togeather with fifty other of his retinew dyed sodainly, the same hapned to Vdo Bishop of Treuirs, Eppo another Bishop riding ouer a riuer so shallow as one might wade it ouer on foot, without danger, was therein no lesse miserably then miraculously drowned: and not to insist on other particulers there related, the end of the Emperour himselfe was such, as well shewed how pleasing vnto God, how gratefull vnto men, or rather to friendes and enemyes, yea euen to his owne children, how base and abominable his actions were.

70. For after a long rebellion against the chiefe Pastour his spirituall Father and Superiour, as he was a disobedient child to his mother the Church, so were his children no lesse rebellious vnto him, it falling out with him as it did with our second Henry vpon the like occasion with his Primate S. Thomas, after whose death his owne children Henry, Richard, and Iohn, were

The vn-
fortunate
end of
Henry the
fourth.

were in continuall reuolt, and conspiracy against him, euen till his dying day: so likewise the Emperour hauing two sonnes *Conrade* and *Henry*, the first being made King of *Germany*, and thereby declared heir apparent of the Empire, because he would not obey his Father in a most filthy action, as *Dodechinus* and *Helmoldus* relate, and out of them *Sigonius*, left his Father, tooke Lombardy from him, and what els he had in Italy, for which the crowne of *Germany* was taken from him by his Father (though otherwise he were a worthy Prince, of goodly personage, and excellent gifts of mind, which made him beloued and admired of all) and bestowed it on his younger brother *Henry*, who more like his Father then *Conrade*, neuer left to prosecute his sayd Father by armes, till he had put him from the Empyre, ouerthrowne him in the field, got him, as *Sigonius* sayth, after the discomfiture susteyned in the wars into his hands, wher he forced, or as some wil haue it, famished him to death, and then left his body for five yeares vnburyed at the towne of *Spira* in *Germany*: and this *Henry* prouing no better an Emperour then the Father whome he had deposed, God not permitting that wicked race to run on further ended the same in this *Henry* his person, & translated the Empire vnto the Saxons of all other most hated by the two former Emperours, as he did the like in our King *Henry* the eight his children, who all dyed without issue.

71. Another vnruth it is, that the Churches did ech where ring of him for Antichrist, which is as false as any thing can be imagined: for although in
Germany

Pope Gregory the
7. neuer
by his
enemies
branded
with the
name of
Antichrist.

Marian.
Sco. lib. 3.
Chron.

Anselm.
ep. 8. in
edit. Verò
Coloniensi
anni 1612.
epist. 56.

Germany such as followed the Emperour might
vse many insolent termes, yet they neuer that
I haue read vsed this, & so far were all Churches
from vsing the like liberty of speech, as euen in
that very Countrey, there wanted not those,
who did both honour and reuerence him, and
that not particuler persons alone, as *Lambertus* &
other learned and vertuous men, but whole cit-
tyes and states, as *Ausprug*, *Saxony* &c. and out of
Germany all honoured him as a most worthy &
zealous Bishop: and *Malmesbury* our best and
most incorrupt writer after *S. Bede*, doth neuer
mention him but with honour, or his Aduer-
saries without touch of disgrace: and of this par-
ticuler decree thus *S. Anselme* wrot in England:
De Presbyteris verò qui se aperte reproba libidinis conuer-
satione Deo reprobabiles exhibent &c. Of the Priests
who by their wicked lustful conuersation make
themselues reprobate before God, that without
question is to obserued which the Apostolicall
prouidence (to wit of *Gregory* the seauenth, for
that title is giuen to the Popes decree, as suc-
cessour to the chiefe Apostle *S. Peter*) by Eccle-
siasticall and iust rigour hath determind, to wit,
that it is no way conuenient, that there the
people should reuerently attend, where the
Priests stubbornly stincking with open and im-
pudent leachery, cōtemning God & his Saints,
do serue at the Altars, yea they do not serue at
the altars, but defile themselues. So *S. Anselme*,
who was so far as you see from iudging this fact
of *Gregory* to be *Antichristian*, as he condemneth
the incontinent Priests, and commended the A-
postolicall prouidence, togeather with the Ec-
clesiasticall

ecclesiasticall and iust rigour of this constant, vertuous, and most zealous Pastour.

72. And in Italy, Godesfridus Viterbiensis sayth the same, and recounteth the fact with honour: *Gregorius* (sayth he) *Papa cōnubia Clericorum à Subdiaconatu & supra, per totum orbem Romanum edicto decretali in eternum prohibuit, ac seipsum athletam Dei & pro domo Domini murum constituit.* Pope Gregory by a decretal edict did for euer forbid the marriage of Clergy men, throughout all the Roman state or Latin Church, from the Subdeacon vpward, and made himsele Gods champion, and a wall for the house of our Lord. So he. And heer also we see no such ringing of this Pope for Antichrist; but great prayse and commendation of him, & that euen for this fact of restrayning the loose Clergy by canonicall censures and deposition.

73. In Germany diuers there were, who not only much commended Pope Gregory, but also approued this particuler prohibition, as *Lambertus* who then liued, and of all others was most punctuall and lesse partial in setting down all the particulars of that bitter contention, and of Priests wiues thus writeth: *Hildebrandus Papa cum Episcopis Italia conueniens &c.* Hildebrand the Pope together with the Bishops of Italy had in diuers Synods decreed, that according to the order of ancient Canons, Priests haue no wiues, and such as haue, that eyther they dismissthem or be deposed: neyther that any at all be admitted to Priesthood, who professeth not perpetual continency and single life. So he. And this was the common sense, opinion, and iudgment of all the learned at that tyme, as appeareth by

Pascius Naulerus who setteth downe the same wordes,
tempor and approueth them: and the like touching the
Veneri allowance of the Popes decree do the German
Bertholdus Authours heere cyted, and diuers others which
Constan I omit.

Chron.

Otho Fri-

ngen. l. 6.

& alij.

No french
 Bishops in
 the Coun-
 cell of
 Wormes

74. It followeth in M. Halles words: *At the*
Councell of VVormes the French and German Bishops de-
posed this Gregory. So he. But there was no true
 Councell, no French Bishops, no deposition at
 all. No Councell, for that it was of the Empe-
 rours calling, and that not only without all
 order of the supreme Pastour, but of purpose to
 crosse and contradict him: for hauing consul-
 ted the matter with his Nobility, and hauing
 heard the answer and resolution of Gregory,
 that either he should dismissthe Bishops he
 kept in prison, with restitution of their goods,
 and call a Councell in some place wherein the
 Pope himselfe might be present, or els to be ex-
 communicated; he fearing himselfe, and well
 knowing his actions to such, as if they had byn
 brought in that open theater of the whol world
 to publike tryall, that no other effect could en-
 sue, but his euerlasting shame and disgrace, was
 perswaded to preuent one Councell by calling
 another, a true Generall by a false National, &
 to couer his owne foule deeds, began to forge
 others as foule on the Pope, partly touching his
 life, which as *Lambertus* noteth, was so incul-
 pable, so Saintlike, as no aspersion could sticke
 on him of their iniuriously deuised slaunders,
 but especially touching his election, which al-
 though it were most canonicall, as is to be seen
 in *Platina* and others, and wholly against the in-
 clination

elination of Gregory himselfe elected, yet were they not ashamed to charge him with ambition, and to haue gotten the place by bribes and simony, and vpon this false ground all were compelled in that Councell to sweare and subscribe to a renunciation of that Pope & his authority, the forme of which is set downe in the Saxon history before mentioned.

75. And whereas M. Hall sayth the French and German Bishops in that Councell deposed Gregory: I answered him, that no French Bishops were called, none were present but such only, who were immediatly subiect vnto the Emperour, as the Bishop of Metz, a Dutch man, and Treuers, which are Imperiall cittyes: *Omnes qui in Regno suo essent Episcopus* (sayth Lambertus) & *Abbatas VVormatie*, *Dominica Septuagesima conuenire precepit*. He commanded all the Bishops & Abbots of his owne Countrey (not of France) to meet together at VVormes, and the number assembled well sheweth that they were all of Germany, or the adioyning territoryes of the Emperour, there being but foure and twenty Bishops in all that assembly, as both Sigebert and Marianus Scotus who then liued do recount: & the Bishop of Mentz in particuler was so far from approving the fact of the other schismatical Bishops, as he together with the Bishop of VVirtzburg or Herispolis did openly withstand it saying: that it was against the Canons, that any Bishop being absent, without a generall Councell, without lawfull accusers, without competent witnes, without euiction of the things objected should be cōdemned, much lesse that the chiefe Bishop

308 *An Answer to M. Halles Apology,*
and Pastour of the whole Church, against
whome no accusation of any Bishop, or Arch-
bishop whatlocuer is to be admitted, should in
that manner be dealt with all. So these Bi-
shops.

The E-
phesine
Council
called by
Dioscorus
the Euti-
chian Pa-
triarke of
Alexan-
dria.

76. But what? as in the infamous Ephesine
Council called by the diuclish deuises of Diosco-
rus the Eutichian Patriarke, where swordes and
clubs more preuayled then truth or learning, &
through the violence of Theodosius the yonger &
this his champion Dioscorus, force made the fear-
full to yield their hands to that which their
harts did abhorre, as after appeared in the Chal-
cedon Council: so heere in VVormes the Emperour
being present, his chiefe Agent VVilliam of Ma-
stricke of whome we haue before spoken, instead
of al arguments vrged by the other for the Pope
brought one dilemmaticall demonstration to
conclude the whole busines to the contrary, &
it is the same which now our Protestants do
vse, to wit, eyther you must condemne the
Pope, or you are all traytours vnto the Empe-
rour. Whereupon all the Imperiall Bishops
there gathered subscribed, but the Saxons refused
and these who did subscribe, were presently so
moued with compunction, as they sent their
letters to the Pope deploring their fault, crav-
ning pardon for what was past, & for the tyme
to come promised continuall and inuioleable o-
bediēce, which more particularly is set down
by Bruno in his history of the Saxon wars saying:

See Baron
ann. 1076.

*Quod quidem pauci fecerunt ex animo, qui & auctores ip-
si fuere consilij plures verò literas quidem &c.* Which
few of them did do from their hart, and those
who

who did it were the Authours that suggetted
 this plot to the Emperour, but the far greater
 part wrote their letters of renouncing the Pope
 for feare of death: but that they did it against
 their wills, they well shewed by this, that by
 the first oportunity offered, they sent their sub-
 missiue letters vnto the Pope, acknowledged
 themselves guilty, but pretended for excuse the
 necessity they were put vnto. So he.

77. And this Authour liuing as it should
 seeme, either in or neer that tyme, and being
 exact in his reports, all may see how little M.
 Halls cause is furthered by this Conuenticle,
 where, as there were no French Bishops at all, so
 neither did all the Germans yield therunto, and
 such as subscribed very soon after as I haue sayd
 with grieffe and shame repented them of their
 error, and excused it with the feare of present
 death, in case they had then refused to performe
 what the tyrant exacted: and it is another vn-
 truth to say, that these Bishops deposed the
 Pope, for all that the Emperour made, was to
 make the Bishops renounce their obedience,
 and not to acknowledge him for Pope: & so it
 is expressed in the very forme of their renounci-
 ation, which is put downe in these wordes in
 the forsayd Authour, to wit: *Ego N. Ciuitatis N.
 Episcopus Hildebrando subiectionem & obedientiam ex
 hac hora, ac deinceps interdico, & eum post hac Apostoli-
 cum nec habebo, nec vocabo.* I N. Bishop of the Cite-
 ty N. do from this houre forward deny subie-
 ction and obedience vnto Hildebrand, and from
 henceforth will neither esteeme him, nor call
 him Pope. So these Bishops.

Pope Gre-
 gory not
 deposed in
 the Coun-
 cell of

78. By which wordes albeit they exempt themselves from his power, and deny him to be Pope, yet touching his deposition they did not intermeddle: and the Messenger called *Roland* sent from the assembly to Pope *Gregory* with menacing letters from the Emperour, which were read openly by the Pope in the *Lateran* Councell then held in *Rome* (where they were condemned by the whole Synod, & *Henry* himselfe for writing them was excommunicated) conteyned in them no sentence of deposition, but a childish threat, that he should leaue the place, or they would leaue him. But the Pope was not so weak a reed, as to bend with so light a blast, and the most part of these Bishops who are heere made to threaten deposition, wrot to the Pope to persist, and not to yield to so open iniquity: and the combat was worthy of the knowne courage and vertue of this most constant and learned Pope, and therfore after when the Emperour saw his wast wordes to haue no effect, he went indeed about to depose him, & put another in his place, to wit, *Guibertus* of *Ravenna*, vnder the name of *Clement* the second, as fit a man to be Pope, as *Henry* was to be the Emperour, and none acknowledged him but *Henryes* followers and flatterers: but this happened more then three yeares after the meeting at *Wormes*, as *Baronius* out of others doth well obserue.

79. Another vnruth it is, that this deposition was made in this name (a fine phrase) amongst other quarrells, for separating man and wife. For neither in the Councell of *Wormes* was this euer mentioned,

oned, nor afterwards when the false Pope was chosen, did the Emperour in his patheticall letters to the Clergy of Rome, or Pope himselfe, in which he setteth downe his agrievances, and causes of depositiō, euer specify any such thing, which letters are in *Baronius* and *Bruno* set forth at large: and none could better tell the true cause then he who was the chiefe actour in all that tragedy, and yet not only he in those epistles, wherein he purposely yieldeth a reason, if any thing might be tearmed a reason, for so vnreasonable and outrageous dealing, why he proceeded so far as deposition, doth so much as once touch this point, but only his owne personal iniuries, and the excommunication of his Bishops as *Symoniackall*, with the ill election (as he would haue it) and other crimes imputed to the Pope himselfe: but moreover no other Authors of these tyme do write any such thing, as *Lambertus*, *Marianus Scotus*, *Sigebertus*, *Mutius*, *Bruno* or any els of credit, and therefore M. Hall must tell vs from whence he fetcheth the Latin wordes of his margin, that in this name among other quarrels he was deposed: *maritos ab vxoribus separat*: he separates the husbands from their wiues, which *Gregory* neuer did, but only the lewd Priests from their concubines, and the Emperour as we see neuer objected it: so as still there is forging, or taking vp of Authorityes at the first hand, out of late hereticall writers without any choic at all, or further discussion what truth or probability their words do beare.

80. Lastly he sayth: that violence did this, not reason: neither was Gods will beere questioned, but the

Separating of Priests from their Harlots not vrged against Gregory in the Councell of Wormes the iniurious sentence of his deposition.

Popes wilfulnes, but all is false : and it seemeth the man to haue made a vow if it may be so termed neuer to speake truly, which is a filthy vow, & to that he may well apply the whole rule he mentioned in the beginning of his letter *in turpi voto muta decretum*, in a filthy vow change the decree, and the sooner he changeth it, the more men will commend his honesty : for heere neither violence, nor willfullnes entred. Not violence, for he neuer waged warre, neuer incyted others thereunto for this matter, but only renewed his decrees, and those for the most part made in Councells, commaunding the ancient custome of single life to be kept in vre, and the abuse of marriage crept into some parts of *Europ* to be suppressed, other violence as tymes and things then went he could shew none, neither indeed by that means could he remedy this turpitude, which there was most spread where the Popes authority could do least, to wit in *Germany*, where *Henryes* countermands still crossed all *Gregories* decrees, and *Nero* his sword (as *S. Anselme* worthily calleth him) *S. Peters* power: not willfullnes of one man, which is done by common consent of whole Councells, wherein no force, violence, or importunity is recorded euer to haue beene vsed, but the thing with full freedom, ioynt consent, and vniforme agreement of all to haue passed; and which is much to be noted, though the Emperour in the tyme of this Pope called some false Councells, as of *Vormes*, *Mentz*, and *Paui*, to withstand *Gregory*, yet in no one of them all, is there any decree, or approuance of the marriage of Priests, they be-

ing

No violence vsed
in *Gregories* decrees.

Anselm.
epist. ad
VValra-
mum.

No will-
fullnes.

being as it should seeme ashamed to leaue extant any monument or remembrance of so brutish a doctrine, and to all Christian antiquity so repugnant.

81. Neither wanted there a reason for Gregory his decree, and laudable indeauours in this behalfe, if M. Hall had so much wit or iudgment as to conceaue it: for he still pleaded the contrary practise to haue beene in the Church, and therby shewed that he made no new decree, but reformed the late abuse crept in against the old, and that according to the ancient Canons and Statutes of the Church, as any may see in all places heere cyted, and in the Councell of Rome Anno 1074. as Lambertus writeth, it was decreed: *Gregor. 7. Vt secundum instituta antiquorum Canonum Presbyteri lib. 2. Epixores non habeant, habentes aut dimittant, aut deponantur.* That according to the determinations of the ancient Canons the Priests haue no wines, and they who haue them, either dismisse, or put them away, or els that themselues be deposed: and writing to Anno Bishop of Colen, he plainly sayth: *Novit enim Fraternitas tua quia precepta hac non de nostro sensu exsculpimus, sed antiquorum Patrum sanctiones spiritu sancto predicante prolatis officij nostri necessitate in medium propalamus.* Your brotherhood doth know that we frame not these commandes out of our owne head, but our office compelling vs, we lay open the decrees of the ancient Fathers made by the instinct of the holy Ghost. So he. And is this trow you M. Hall no reason? or can you, if you were put to it, frame a better then priority of tyme conioyned with vniuersality of place?

Great reason for the making of Pope Gregory his decree.

— *Maenio mainum quod tibi carmen habetur?*
Dispercam si scis, carmina quid sapiant.

I see you know not what reason meanes.

82. And the like I may say of Gods will, which in the whole pursuit of this thing was only sought for, in preserving that which the whole Church guyded by his holy spirit, had so often determined, so many Councells decreed, so long & vncontrollable custome of al Countreyes obserued, which to infringe only vpon the violence of a few licentious and disorderly liuers, who will take liberty without leaue, & haue all things to be ruled by their owne vnruely passions, was little according to Gods will, and much lesse was it according to his will, to breake their solemn vovwes of perpetuall chastity made in the taking of their orders, which by the law of nature and diuine, bound them to the obseruance, and consequently the transgression was: against the *will of God*, which the Pope did labour to reforme, and in seeking reformation could seek for no other emolument or profit to himselfe, then to please God: for sure he was to displease many men thereby, and to increase the number of such as mortally hated his so constant zeale, & infatigable labour in Gods cause: but this hatred of men proceeding from Gregory his loue to God, was no more by him to be regarded, then that of the Iewes was of the Apollis, or the hatred of the ancient persecutors of the primitiue Martyrs.

Auentine
 a late partiall and

83. What broyles hereon ensued, sayth M. vn sincere Hall, let Auentine witnes: but I except against this writer. witnes, as being for tyme too yong, for profession,

sion too partiall, and for credit too small, to testify in this matter: and withall I must warne this Epistler, that in cyting Authours he vse more exactnes then for two lines to referre vs ouer to a whole booke in folio of many leaues, which we neither haue leasure, nor list to read all ouer, and it is not worth the labour to spend so much tyme in reading such Authours, so false, fond, and confuse as he is knowne to be: & the words heere cyted out of him seeme to conteyn no more truth then the rest now refuted: *Ex interdicto sacerdotum coniugio* (sayth he) *grauissima seditione gregem Christi perculit &c.* Vpon the forbidding of the marriage of Priests a most grieuous sedition wounded the flock of Christ: neither was there euer such a plague, that so afflicted Christian people. So he. Which is a meere Chymera, for this flocke of Christ, these Christians an people were a few seditious German Priests, who tooke the occasion of the discord between the Emperour & the Pope to follow their lust, and wallow in all filthines. If M. Hall obiekt that not only this but the contention of the Emperour, and all the broyles then made and rayled were for this cause, he will shew his reasoning to be little, and iudgment small, because this was but a bad branch of another root, an effect of another cause, and a by-lake from another greater streame.

84. For who so will reade attentiuely what Authours do write of these tymes, & what Pope Gregory in so many Councils, letters, and Edicts did decree, he shall find before this filthy fault age of another to be commonly premised, to wit of Priests.

Simony

The chief cōtention betweene Henry the fourth & Gregory the 7. not about the marriage of Priests.

Symony, which more touched the Emperour (who as *Caluin* and others write, held all the Bishopricks, and Abbeyes at sale) and the Bishops also (who having bought their place for money, did sell al Canonries, Deanries, Prebends &c. & were both by the Popes decrees to be themselves remoued, & their doings anulled, & so likewise the Abbots) then this other of *Vvines*, which was indeed but an appendix of the former, and permitted by the Emperour to increafe the number of his followers, and enemyes of the Pope, being neuer intended as any principall cause: for had not the *Symony* hindred, which was the first and chiefest quarrell between them (which *M. Hall* not being able to iustify doth still dissemble) the accord betweene *Henry* and *Gregory* had soone been made, which neuer depended on these marriages: and to affirme the contrary or that all the turmoyles were made for *Priests wines*, shewes exceeding ignorance in historyes, and all the course held in this bitter combat: and so to conclude the matter we see *M. Hall* in 12. lines to haue told vs no lesse then ten vntruths, as 1. That the better sort approued not *Gregories* doings. 2. That the Churches did ring of him ech were for Antichrist. 3. That at the Councell of *Vvorms* the French Bishops deposed him. 4. That he was therein deposed. 5. That the cause of this imaginary deposition was for separating man and wife. 6. That violence did this. 7. That the debaring of *Priests* wiues was not done by reason. 8. That the will of God was not sought therein. 9. That all was done by the Popes willfullnes. 10. That the broyles between

Ten lyes
in twelue
lines.

betweene the Emperour and the Pope were on this occasion. In fine euery thing he speaketh in this matter is a lye.

85. At the end of the Epistle M. Hall, as a man weary of his trauell abroad, returneth home to England, and leauing *Egypt, Greece, Italy,* and *Germany*, he lands at length at *Canterbury*, and tells vs of the bickering of our English Clergy with their *Dunstanes*, which about this tyme were memorable in our owne history, which teach vs how late, how repiningly, how vniu-
 stly they stooped vnder this yoke: and for further prooffe he sendeth his simple Reader to *Bale* and *Fox* two graue Authours (*scilicet*) that in case he haue not deceaued him inough, there he may be gulled and glutted to the full: and to these two Authours cyted in the text, he addeth two other in the margent, of as much estimation as the former, to wit *Henry of Huntingdon*, and *Fabian*, both affirming *S. Anselme* to be the first who forbad marriage to the Clergy of England, and that about the yeare of our Lord 1050. and the same for the yeare sayth foolish *Fabian*, a man too simple, God wot, to be cyted in so serious a matter.

The con-
 trouerisy
 treated
 whether
 euer our
 English
 Clergy
 were per-
 mitted to
 haue wiues
 and not
 rather to
 vow per-
 petuall
 continen-
 cy.

86. Heere befor I go further, I must needs let you vnderstand how strongly the text, and A grosse
 margent of this man do contradict ech other, contradi-
 and both of them do conteyne very grosse vn-
 truths, for without them M. Hall cando nothing: tion be-
 the contradiction resteth in this, that in the text tween the
 S. Dunstane had great bickerings about the mar- text and
 riage of the Clergy, and by his withstanding margent
 the same, M. Hall is taught, how late, how repiningly, of M.
 Hall.

how

318 *An Answer to M. Halls Apology,*
 how vniustly the Clergy stooped vnder this yoke of single
 life: but in the margent it is sayd, that S. Anselme
 was the first that forbad marriage to the Clergy
 of England, and this (as M. Hall telleth vs) a-
 bout the yeare of our Lord 1080. Was there e-
 uer man in a dreame could tell thinges lesse co-
 herent, or more repugnant, and contradictory
 the one to the other then these? For S. Dunstane
 dyed in the yeare 988. and S. Anselme was not
 made Bishop vntill the yeare 1093. which is
 more then a hundred yeares after, so as if the
 margent be true of S. Anselme, the text is false of
 S. Dunstane, and if S. Dunstane made this opposi-
 tion more then a hundred yeares before S. An-
 selmes tyme, then are M. Halls two witnes, to-
 geather with his own glosse, taken tripping in a
 lye, who will haue it to haue beene first com-
 menced by S. Anselme. Was M. Hall in his wits
 when he made this marginall note to his text?
 or talking with his wife of some other thing?
 Surely he was somewhat distracted, and little
 attended to what he wrote.

The mar-
 riage of
 Priests co-
 demned
 by S.
 Dunstane
 long before
 S. Anselm
 his tyme.

87. And indeed the text is more true then
 the margent: for S. Dunstane no lesse eagerly pur-
 sued this matter then S. Anselme, and his de-
 crees are no lesse generall for all, no lesse seuer
 for penalty, no lesse efficacious for redresse then
 the others made after: neither was he alone, for
 with him in this matter stood S. Ethelwold of
 Winchester, and S. Oswald of Worcester, of which
 three glorious Saints and renowned Pastours,
Malmesbury sayth: Ita his tribus viris agentibus quasi
triformi lumine Angliam serenante densa vitiorum tene-
bra euanuerunt. So through the endeauours of
 these

these three men, as it were with a threefold
light shining ouer England, the thicke darknes
of vices did vanish away. So he. And with
these three shining lamps and lanternes of the
world, our famous *Edgar* conspired, and this
publicke decree by the Bishops of the land as-
sembled in Synod was enacted: *Vt Canonici omnes*
Presbyteri, Diaconi, Subdiaconi, aut caste vinerent, aut
Ecclesias quas tenebant dimitterent. That all the Ca-
nons, Priests, Deacons, Subdeacons should ei-
ther liue chastly, or forgoe the Churches which
they held: and *S. Anselme* in his decree sayd no
more, as after we shal see, but repeated the same
words saying, it is decreed that Priests, Deacons, and
Subdeacons liue chastly: so as for the extent it is alike
in both decrees, and after in *S. Anselmes* decree
followeth also the deposition of such as remay-
ned incontinent.

88. By which is refelled that which vn-
advisedly *M. Godwine* writeth in *S. Anselme*, say-
ing: that he persecuted Priests very extremely,
Dunstane, Oswald, Ethelwold and other enemyes to
the marriage of Clergy men, had only expelled
them out of Monasteries that had wiues, but
S. Anselme vtterly forbidding them marriage, de-
prived them of their promotions who were
married, confiscated their goods vnto the Bi-
shop of the Diocese, adiudged them and their
wiues adulterers, and forced all who entred in-
to order to vow chastity. So he. And for this
zeale against married Priests he boldly taxeth
him, for being a little too resolute in all his determina-
tions. Again, he was more peremptory in diuers of his
resolutions then became him; that out of a blind zeale he

*Birkm
som. 4. in
Concil.*

*Londin.
Baron an-*

*no 970. ex
A. His vi-*

*ta S. of w.
15. Oct b.*

in Sumo.

*Roger
t. ouden*

*in Anno
1108.*

*M. God-
wine ta-
xed.*

»

»

S. Anselm

an enemy

to mar-

ried

Priests.

was so boate against Clergy mens marriage: so this point pinceth them to the hart, that notwithstanding he confesse S. Anselme to haue beene a good and holy man, of great learning, and for integrity of life and conversation admirable, which true and ingenious testimony I allow and commend, yet will M. Godwyn in this be his iudge, and tell him that it was blind zeale and imperfection: for without marriage among these men nothing shines, nothing can be perfect: for which cause also he writeth so basely of S. Dunstane, of whome all the historyes of our Nation speake so honourably, and out of them Cardinall Baronius shutting

S. Dun-
stane.

Baron in
ann. 988.
§. viiij.

vp his life, giueth this worthy testimony: *Mortitur hoc perier anno mirificus ille Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis &c.* This yeare also dyed that wonderfull Dunstane Archbishop of Canterbury, whome
 « singular sanctity of life, priestly and inflexible
 « constancy, the glory of miracles, & all the gifts
 « of the holy Ghost made famous, that in this respect
 « England hath no cause to enuy now at other most noble Cittyes, for their renowned Pastours. So Baronius of S. Dunstane.

89. And in case that the three Saints named by M. Godwin had beene lesse eager against the marriage of Priests then S. Anselme, I see not why he in that respect should not haue beene more fauourable also vnto them in their liues, which yet he is not: for of S. Oswald he sayth: That he was very earnest in setting forth that doctrine of Diuells, that debarreth men of lawfull marriage: of S. Ethelwold, that he plaid the Rex at Winchester turning along eight honest Priests into the world with their wives and children: of S. Dunstane he rayseth diuers iniurious

M. God-
wine to
free in cō-
furing, &
of a short
memory

inurious slaunders, but you must know the cause of all to be that which he vttereth in the last words of his life, to wit, for persecuting and hunting married Priests euery where out of their liuings, which claue if you marke it well, ouerthroweth the other before cyted concerning S. Anselme, that his persecutiō was more general then the other of S. Dunstane, S. Eshelwold, & S. Oswalde, when as yet their decrees as you haue scene are all one, and alike in generall for all: and heere further you haue S. Dunstane no lesse then S. Anselme not only in Monasteryes, or places where Chanons dwelled, but euery where to haue hunted and persecuted married Priests out of their liuings. Stil I must complain of want of memory in these men who in their heat of contradiction against vs forget in The same place what they haue written in another. *mous ex-*

90. Which point is yet made more cleare, *ample* by the memorable miracle which happened at *which* Calne, of which in a manner al our writers make *happened at* mention, as Osbertus, Malmesbury, Florentius, Huntingdon, Houeden, Matthew VVestminster and others: *the Councell of* Calne. where in the behalfe of all the incontinent Clergy, many of the Nobility were assembled *Osbert. in* together with their Oratour Bernelinus a Scot- *vita Dun-* tish man, that to eyther by power or perswasion *stanti.* they might ouerbeare S. Dunstane, *Validissimum* *Malmes. l. 6* *2. cap. 9.* *illuminatum Ecclesia*, sayth Malmesbury, that most *Florent. in* strong bulwarke of the Church. But against all *anno 977.* humane power and eloquence God shewed *Houeden* which part pleased him best, which highly dis- *eodem.* pleased him: for the house where they sate in Hunting Councell sodenly fell downe, and either killed, *in anno 98* or sorely wounded all those who withstood the *Edward. 2.*

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S. Dun-
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Saint, he and his, as Osbert recounteth in his life, being free from all danger: which wonderfull event albeit *Huntington* the speciall proctour for married Priests do barely recount, without any mention of the cause of their meeting, and moreouer do turne it to another interpretation; yet others especially *Malmesbury* the best after *Bede* that we haue for our historyes, in assigning the effect truely, insinuateth the cause saying: *Hoc miraculum archiepiscopo exhibuit pacem de Clericis omnibus Anglis tunc & deinceps in eius sententiam concedentibus*. This miracle ended the strife betweene *S. Dunstane* and the Clergy, all English men as well then as after yielding vnto his opinion. So he. Out of which words I gather against *M. Godwin*, that *S. Dunstane* no lesse then *S. Anselme* opposed against all married Priests, & ouerthrew them all, and against *M. Hall* that the first prohibition against the mariage of Priests was not made by *S. Anselme*, but more then a hundred yeares before he was Bishop, or had any thing to do in our English Church.

91. And as it is most true, that *S. Dunstane* before *S. Anselme* made this prohibition, so is it most false that by him first of all, our English Clergy did perforce stoop to the yoke of continency, as though euer before they had wiues, & genuisse filios & filias, as now we see our English Ministers to do, which only is the ill collection of *M. Hall*, who when he findeth any thing forbidden he forthwith inferreth that the thing forbidden was alwayes in vse before the prohibition, and heere his wit no lesse sayling him then his Logicke, he gathereth, that because at different tymes

M. Halls manner of collections.

times the same was restrayned vnder two Arch-
bishops of Canterbury, that it was neuer before
the tyme of one or the other: in his text he sayth
that the Clergy were forced to stoop vnder the yoke
of continency by the first, and in the margent,
that it was *alwayes free to marry*, and neuer de-
ayed till the later, as now we haue heard: but
both are false, and the single life of Priests is of
far greater antiquity then are the tymes of these
two Saints, whome God raysed to take away
the abuse crept in, and not to alter any constant
custome euer allowed or practised in the land
before: for the good corne was first sown in that
field, and the darnell after, truth was before er-
rour, the continency of the Clergy of all ac-
knowledged, of all practised, in all tymes after
our conuersion approued: when as their vnlaw-
full marriage as it entred late, so it endured not
long, soone rising and soone falling: and as for
tyme it could neuer prescribe, so neither for
place could it euer get the full possession of our
little Iland, till these later dayes, a thing so fil-
thy after a solemne vow to God to take a wife,
as it neuer appeared without the brand of infam-
y, so base, as the basest only defended it, the
best withstood it, of so narrow bounds, as it was
neuer tollerated in Europe, *Africke*, or the *Latins*
Church, nor yet in *Greece* till by bad life it felt
schisme from schisme into open heresy, and
from thence vnto the thraldon of the Turke
vnder which now it resteth.

92. Which point concerning other coun-
treys I haue proued before, now I will restraine
my speech to England alone, and in a word of

A negati-
ue argu-
ment
grounded
vpon ma-
nifest pre-
sumptio.

two prouethe Clergy cuer to haue beene con-
tinent, and then obiter touch the cause of that abuse
abuse: I meane vpon what occasion it first en-
tered and inuegled so many in S. *Dunstons* tyme,
and for the first I thinke this generall negatiue
directly to conclude, that in all the purluit of
this bulines, in al the prohibitions, depositions, also in
censures and sentences deliuered against the in-
continent, we neuer reade that any of them did
euer stand vpon the former custome of the
Church, or continuall practise therof in that
behalf, or euer complained that the Bishops
brought in a new law contrary to the old, or will
that they were made Priests when that free-
dome was in vse, approued, and allowed, and
therefore all such prohibitions, depositions, cen-
sures, sentences, and other penaltyes made after-
ward to haue beene vniust, iniurious, and ty-
rannical, as they could, & doubtles would haue
pleaded, had the cause beene as M. Hall wil haue
it, that they had brought in anew law, imposed
a yoke neuer borne before, & contradicted the
constant knowne custome of the whole Land,
but this none euer vrged, objected, mentioned,
that euer I could read of in S. *Dunstons* tyme,
when first of all that matter was so vehemently
followed, and thereof do inferre that it was not
the old custome, but a late nouelty, that by the
vigilancy of the pastours afore named was bla-
sted in the very budd, and by their vertue and
vigour cleane overborne.

In our
first con-
uersion
the Cler-
gy was
continent.

93. Besides this generall negatiue, if we
reduce things to their first origen, our Church
I meane of England to our first Apostle S. *Gre-*

the conuersion, who conuerted vs to the Christian sayth;
of that before in general I haue touched his opinion:
first en- for our Church in particuler, what his or-
s tyme: dinance was, is to be scene by his answer to the
negative second demand of S. Augustine, which was tou-
r suit of thing the continency of Clergy men set downe
ositions, also in Fox: for he sayth, or rather resolue the
t the in- matter thus: Such of the Clergy as are not in holy or-
them diders if they cannot conueyne mar marry, but then they must
of the longer liue among Clergy men but receaue their stipends *Gregor. resp. ad*
i in that without, or out of their company. So S. Gregory concer- *quast. 3.*
Bishoping our English Clergy, and no man I thinke *August.*
old, or will deny Priests to be in holy orders, and con-
at free- frequently by this resolution to be debarred from
ed, and marriage: & not only Priests, but euen Subdea-
ns, cen- cons in S. Gregoryes tyme, and by S. Gregory him-
e after- selfe were forbidden to marry, as before they
and ty- had beene by S. Leo the Great, though in Sicily
ld haue about this time some abuse had entred touching
il haue this order, the lowest of the foure sacred, but it
posed ascended no higher.

ted the 94. And whereas Pelagius predeceffour to
Land, S. Gregory had rigorously vrged the Canonickall *Subdea-*
tioned, discipline against these Subdeacons; S. Gregory *consboud*
tyme, so far mitigated that decree, as he permitted such *to perpet-*
mently as were married to keep their wives, but forbade *uall cha-*
as not that any more should be ordered: for thus he *stity.*
by the writeth: *Qui post prohibitionem à suis vxoribus conti-* *Gregor. ad*
as bla- *one noluerint, nolumus promoueri ad sacrum ordinem &c.* *Petrus*
e and They who after our prohibition will not ab- *Subdiacon. l.*
steyne from their wives, we wil not haue them *1. ep. 42.*
if we promoted to the holy order: for none ought to
hurch come to the Ministry of the Altar, whose cha-
. Gra- stity is not approued before he vndertake the fū-
gory,

3:6 *An Answer to M. Halles Apology.*

Lib. 7. 27.
etc.

tion. So S. Gregory, and to foure Bishops of France, thus of the same matter: *Cum hi qui in sacro ordine sunt constituti habitare mulieres prohibeantur &c.* Let women be forbidden to dwell with such as are in holy order, ouer whome that the old enemy do not triumph, it is by the common consent to be defyned, that they ought to haue no women dwell with them besides such as are mentioned by the Canons. So he to them, alluding to the third Canon of the Nicaen Council, to which if we add what before we haue set downe out of the Roman Council, we shall haue out of S. Gregory alone the practise of England, Sicily, France, and Italy together.

By these
testimony
of S. Bede
it is cleere
Priests
might not
marry.

95. And as this was first planted, so was it without intermission generally still continued, of which the testimony of Venerable Bede before alleadged is an irrefragable argument, where out of the Commandment of the Priests dayly attendance on the Altar he inferreth their perpetuall chastity, and addeth further that it is imposed vpon them for euer to be kept, but this imposition presupposeth their owne voluntary election of that state, and the yow thereunto annexed, as els where we haue shewed, and S. Bede also in another place doth further declare, where explicating the wordes of Moses of a certayne garment of the Priests of the old law, by application to the Priesthood of the new, he sayth: *Fœmoralia qua ad operiendam carnis turpitudinem fieri mandantur &c.* The linnen hose which are commanded to be made to couer the turpitude of the flesh, doe designe properly that portion of chastity, which keeps men backe

Beda lib. 3.
de sacerdot.

backe from the appetit of matrimoniall copulation, without which chastity no man can take
priesthood, or be consecrated to the Ministry
of the Altar, that is, vnles he remayne a virgin,
or els breake the bands which ioyned him to
his wife: which kind of vertue is of necessity by
the law of God imposed vpon none, but by vo-
luntary deuotion is to be offered vnto our Lord
for so himselſe sayth: *Non omnes capiunt verbum hoc*, *Marth. 19.*
all accept not this counsaile, to which not with-
standing by a mercitull persuation he inuiteth
all who are able, saying, let him take it that can.
So he. And a little after: *Nulitamen violentum hu-*
iusmodi continentia iugum impones &c. You shall not
impose this violent yoke of continency vpon
any, but whoſoever will be made Priests, and
serue in the Ministry of the Altar, they of their
own accord shal cease to be the seruants of their
wiues. So *S. Bede*, alluding vnto the wordes of
the Apostle, that the husband hath no power
ouer his own body but the wife: and what wil
M. H. say heereunto? I hope these testimonyes
are cleare enough to conuince the fleshly free-
dome, which he dreameth of touching Priests
wiues, not to haue beene knowne in *S. Bedes*
tyme: for the two Poles are not further asunder
then this doctrine by *S. Bede* deliuered, and that
which he pretendeth: and this being written
so long before *S. Dunstanes* tyme, and the yoke
which yet is a sweet yoke imposed, we may ca-
sily perceau what truth, or discretion is in the
words of *M. Hall*, who will haue our Clergy so
repiningly to haue first slooped vnder this yoke, by *S.*
Dunstans inforcement, who yet liued more then

The vo-
luntary
vow of
such as are
to receaue
holy or-
ders.

1. Cor. 7.

*Obijte Bede
ann. 731.*

*Dunstan.
vero anno
938.*

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two hundred yeares after S. Bede,

*Malmesb.
lib. 2. c. 8.*

*Vulfstann
in vita E.
shelwoldi.*

The marriage of
Priests against law
and conscience.

96. Moreouer what opinion was had of these marriages euen then, when so much rustling was made for them, appeareth by *VVolfstan*, scholler at that tyme of S. *Eshelwold* a learned & vertuous man as *Malmesbury* doth describe him, who in the life he wrote of the Saint his master, speaking of those Priests which M. *Godwin* before called *eight honest Priests turned into the world with their wiues and children*, thus setteth forth their honesty: *Erant tunc in veteri Monasterio Canonici moribus valde deprauatis, elatione, insolentia, luxuria fatis &c.* There were at that tyme in the old Monastery Chanons of very corrupt life, filthy for their pride, impudency and leachery, in so much as some of them would not say Masse in their turne, and casting away their wiues, *quas prater ius fasque sibi copulauerant*, which against all law and conscience they had marryed, they did marry others, and bestowed all their tyme in gluttony & drunkenes, which the Bishop not enduring, with the consent of King *Edgar*, thrust them all out. So he. And were not these honest men indeed, trow you, worthy of M. *Godwins* prayse and compassion? and how was their marriage then esteemed lawfull, why by so learned and vertuous a man is tearmed to be against law and conscience, which can be for no other reason, then for the solemn vow of chastity annexed vnto their order.

97. If from priuate authority we will draw this matter to more publicke, we shall find that by S. *Dunstan* three Councells were called, to wit, at *London*, *VVincchester*, and *Canterbury*, and this marriage

marriage cōdemned in them all. Another Cō-
cell was called after at VVinchester 1070. and the Marriage
same againe renewed: in the year 1102. S. Anselm of Priests
called a Councell which was held at S. Peters con-
Church in VVestminster, & that by the common ned by
consent of al the Bithops, the Nobility & King many
himselfe, in which Councell the noble men al- Councells
so were present, not as Iudges or dealers in Ec- in En-
clesiasticall affayres, nor yet out of any right or gland.
duety, which they could claime in that Court, Malmes. l.
but as Malmesbury writteth: *Huic Conuentui affue-*
runt Archiepiscopo Anselmo petente à Rege Primates Reg-
ni &c. At this assembly at the request of the *de Pontif.*
Archbishop Anselme made to the King, were pre- *Anglia in*
sent the noble men of the Kingdome, that therby *Anselmo.*
whatsoever should be decreed by the authority *Houeden,*
of the Councell might by the vniforme care & *Florentius*
solicitude of both orders be put in execution. *Matt. Pa-*
So he. And of this Councell the decrees are ex- *ris. Matth.*
tant in Malmesbury, where touching this point *Vestmona-*
by common agreement of all, thus it was defi- *ster. in auct.*
ned. 1103.

98. That no Archdeacon, Priest, Deacon,
Chanen, marry a wife, or keep her whome he
hath marryed, and the same of a Subdeacon af-
ter his vow of chastity: that a Priest as long as
he keepeth vnlawfull company with a woman
be not Legall, nor say Masse, nor (if he do) that
his Masse be heard: that none take Subdeacon-
ship, or any higher order without the vow of
chastity: that the children of Priests be not heirs
of their Fathers Churches. So there. And six
years after which was the last before his death,
he called another, the Charter whereof is ex-

330 *An Answer to M. Halles Apology,*
 tant in Florentius and Houeden, it beginneth thus:
Hac sunt statuta de Archidiaconibus, Presbyteris, Diaconibus, Subdiaconibus, & Canonicis in quocūq; gradu constitutis &c. These are the statutes which Anselme Archbithop of Canterbury, and with him Thomas the elect of Yorke, and all the Bishops of England, in the presence of our renowned King Henry with the assent of his Earles and Barons decree, in the yeare of our Lord 1108. concerning Archdeacons, Priests, Deacons, Subdeacons, & Canons, of what degree soeuer. So the inscription, and for that the assembly was so great & honourable, and the decree so plaine and grounded on antiquity, to which it doth appeale in the very entrance, I haue thought it requisite, heere entierly to insert it, that it may also be extant in our English tongue. Thus then it goes.

A famous Councell in which the King to wit Henry the first, all the Bishops, & nobility were present.

99. It is decreed, that Priests, Deacons, and
 “ Subdeacons do liue chastly, & haue no women
 “ in their houses besids their nearest kinsfolkes,
 “ according to that which the holy Councell of
 “ Neece hath defined. But such Priests, Deacons,
 “ Subdeacons as after the interdiction of the
 “ Councell of London (*immediatly before mentioned*)
 “ haue kept their wiues, or married others, if they
 “ will any more say Masse, let them put them a-
 “ way so far from them, that neither the women
 “ enter into their houses, nor they into the houses
 “ of the women; neither let them purposely meet
 “ in any other house, neither let such womē dwell
 “ in the territory or precincts of the Church:
 “ if vpon some iust occasion they must speake to-
 “ geater, let them speake without the dores before
 “ two witnesses; but if by two or three lawfull
 witnesses,

The strict decrees of the Councell of London against the incontinent Clergy.

witnesſes, or publike report of the pariſhioners, »
any one ſhal be accuſed to haue tranſgreſſed this »
decree, he ſhall purge himſelfe by bringing ſix »
competent witnesſes of his owne order if he »
be a Priſt, if he be a Deacon ſoure, two if a »
Subdeacon, and he who failes heerein ſhallbe »
adiudged a tranſgreſſour of the ſacred decree. »
But ſuch Priſts as contemners of the diuine Al- »
tar, and holy orders haue choſen rather to dwell »
with their women, let them be removed from »
their diuine office, deprived of all Eccleſiaſtical »
liuing, and being declared infamous be put out »
of that rancke or order: but he who out of ſlub- »
bornes and contempt ſhal not leaue his woman, »
and ſhall preſume to ſay maſſe, if he be called to »
make ſatisfaction ſhall reſuſe to come, let him »
be excommunicated. The ſame declaratory ſen- »
tence comprizeth all Archdeacons and Ca- »
nons if by them the ſtatutes be tranſgreſſed, ei- »
ther of leauing their women, or auoyding their »
dwelling with them, or for the diſtriction of »
the cenſure: againe all Archdeacons ſhal ſweare »
that they ſhall take no bribes for permitting the »
tranſgreſſion of this decree, neither ſhall they »
ſuffer Priſts whome they know to haue wo- »
men to ſing Maſſe, or appoint their ſubſtitutes: »
and the Deanes alſo ſhall ſweare the ſame, and »
the Archdeacon or Deane who ſhall reſuſe to »
ſweare, ſhall leeſe his Archdeaconry or Deanry. »
But the Priſts who ſhal reſolue with themſelus »
by leauing their women to ſerue God, and the »
holy altars, for forty dayes forbearing their of- »
fice, ſhall haue for that tyme their ſubſtitutes, in »
which tyme ſuch pennance ſhallbe enioyned »
them

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them as shall seeme fit to the Bishop to impose.
So far this Councell.

Houeden.
anno 1175.

100. I pretermitt others of later tymes,
whereof one of them was called vnder this
King *Henry* the first, and in the same were pre-
sent such Bishops, as both *Huntingdon*, and out of
him *verbatim* trusty *Roger* his *Eccho*, I meane *Houeden*
say, that they were *Columna Regni & radij sanctisa-*
tis hoc tempore: The pillars of the Kingdome and
shining beames of sanctity at this tyme; and
another vnder his Nephew the second *Henry*
(who was also present therein) called by *Richard*
of *Canterbury*, both which were held at *London*,
and both condemned this incestuous mariage,
and the like did diuers others after these which
are confessed by our Aduersaryes, and need not
heere to be alleadged, for that which already
hath beene sayd of the Councells of *S. Dunstons*,
in one of which was King *Edgar*, and these o-
thers of *S. Anselme*, with the other particuler tes-
timonyes before cyted, do plainly perswade
any without other proof this verity, especially
if he will with due attention make these ensu-
ing ponderations thereupon.

*.
Pondera-
tion.

There can
be no
greater
nationall
prooffe
then that
which is
brought
for the
continen-
cy of the
Clergy.

101. First no English man that regardeth
the credit and authority of his Countrey can
desire, or perhaps imagine any greater national
prooffe then to haue all the Bishops together,
with the King and his Nobility, in two or
three seuerall Councells to sit, define, deliner,
and command the single life of the Clergy, and
that according to the ancient Canons, to ac-
curse the marriages of Priests, no Pastour euer
disclayming, but with ioynt consent and vni-
forme

forme agreement, vrging, procuring, and executing the same: the Kings also to wit *Edgar*, & the first *Henry* two most valiant, wise, and learned Princes, who only had occasion to shew themselves in this matter, agreeing with the Bishops strengthening the Ecclesiasticall decrees with their royall assent and power, and with the Kings and Bishops the whole Nobility did accord: when on the contrary side, which is much to be noted, before the tyme of *Edward* the sixth, *M. Hall* can produce no one Councell or Conuenticle, of any Bishops, no one Parliament of the land, no one publike register of any common consent, no not so much as any priuate testimony, but of *Fabian* a late Merchant of *London* (if I be not mistaken) and *Henry Huntington*, whose vntruth is so notorious, as his scholler *Roger Houeden* for shame omitted it, though for want of better *M. Hall* is contented to take vp such out-cast raggs, and therefore I appeale to all my Countrey-men who make any account of the authority of their Nation, and publicke records therof, to iudge whether the Catholiks or Protestants make the better plea, seeing the first haue all to stand for them, Clergy & Laity, Pastours and sheep, Kings, Nobility, schollers, Saints, all antiquity: and the other to haue none to ioyne withall, but such as for their lewd life and wicked demeanour were condemned as deuoyd of all piety, learning, or common honesty.

102. If in case of some temporall estate any Gentlemen to proue the title of the Land he holds, should produce the publicke sentence of al
A fit similitude.
the

the Iudges in England, purposely in two or three Kings tymes assembled together, and in euery assembly iudicially to haue decided the matter in fauour of the possessor, and condemned his aduerlaryes of impollure and intrusion, and this their decision and condemnation in diuers records among the publike monuments of the Land to be extant: and on the other side the aduerse part could bring forth none of former tymes to speake for them but thecus, rogues or other malefactor, either punished for faults, or vpon their repêrance pardoned; what Iudge, yea what reasonable man would make doubt, who had the better right in law, and on whose fauour the iudgment should passe? And truly euen so it fareth in this Controuersy, in which for the continency of Clergy men in England we bring forth the Iudiciall sentence of all the Pastours, or spiritual Iudges of the Land, and that not one tyme only, vnder one King, but at sundry tymes, vnder three Kings when this question was most moued, we bring forth I say the iudiciall sentence of six Councells, all accepted, ratified, executed in the whole Realme: with these Pastours at that tyme did the whole flocke I meane Princes, Peers and people conspire, and the later tymes ratified the decrees of the former, so as this was the vncontrollable voyce of the whole Land, which to disproue M. Hall bringeth forth nothing but the *repining* of them who were condemned, that is the delinquents themselves, and some one or two of as much credit as himselfe (as *Fabian* and *Huntington*) that say they were vniustly punished, and only say

it

it without any other proof at all: and whether such a blunt denyall of two particuler men, especially of two such men, ought to sway more then all the former sentences, and iudiciall records of the whole Kingdome together, needeth in my mynd no great deliberation to determine.

103. Another ponderation may be taken from the sanctity of the persons who defined the Catholike doctrine, as in the late Councell before cyted euen by *Huntingtons* own confessiō, they were such as were the pillars of the land and shining beames of sanctity, and before that *S. Anselm* the myrour of the world, of whose singlar learning, zeale, and piety, we find euery where honourable testimonyes: *Huntington* calleth him, a holy and venerable man, *Matthew VVestminster* a noble Prelate, *Nubrigen* sayth, that he was, *Vir sanctus & excelsus in verbo gloria*, and in the next Chapter, *sortitus est nomen grande iuxta nomen magnorum qui sunt in celo*: He got him a great name according to the name of such as are great in heauen. *Matthew Paris* speaking of him writeth thus: *Cuius vitam laudabilem, cuius actus eximios, cuius transitum ab hac luce caelestem ad patriam, crebra eius miraculorum insignia persequuntur*: Whose worthy life, whole noble deeds, whose passage from this light vnto his countrey of heauen, many miracles do still declare. So he: but of all others *VVilliam of Malmesbury* is most copious in his prayles, I will only out of diuerse cite two passages, one where he beginneth to speake of him, the other where he endeth his life: in the former thus he writeth: *Anselmus quo nemo vnquam insisterenaciter, nemo hoc tempore*

2.
Ponderation.

The sanctity of the persons who defended the continency of Clergy men.

Huntington anno 3.
Guil. 2.
VVestm.
anno 1109.
Nubrigen. l. 1. cap. 2.
& 3.

Paris ann. 1109.

pure

Malmes. pore tam anxie doctus, nemo tam penitus spiritualis fuerit,
lib. 4. in pater patria, mundi speculum. Anselme then whome
Guil. 1. none was more constant in defending iustice,
 "none so curiously learned at this tyme, none so
 "spirituall, the father of the Countrey, and loo-
 "king glasse of the world. So there: & in another
Lib. 1. de place: Perseueravit in eo ad exitum vite inuictus vigor,
gestis Pon. pietatis seruator &c. vir qui omnes quos quidem videri-
Anglor. mus sapientia & religione prastaret. There remayned
 "in Anselme euen vnto the last gasp an inuincible
 "courage, feruent piety &c. a man who for wise-
 "dome and vertue excelled all whome we euer
 haue scene. So Malmesbury.

104. And to let passe others, euen Prote-
 stants of more moderate disposition haue not
 denyed him his due prayse, as we haue heard of
M. God- M. Godwin who calleth him: a man of great lear-
win in his ning, and for integrity of life and conuersation admirable,
life. and for his too peremptory dealing against Cler-
 gy men (as he tearmeth it) he impureth it to
 blind zeale far from malicious intent of doing wrong: but
 who will imagine that M. Godwin can see wher
 S. Anselme was blind? And Holinshead noteth him
 for a stout Prelate, without any touch of dis-
 grace in all that he writeth of him, which had
 not beene spared had he found any thing in him
 that had beene lyable thereunto: and Iohn Fox,
 who although he speake well of few, yet he out
 of others commendeth S. Anselme when he trea-
 teth of his election, albeit after wards he do dis-
 commend him euen for that for which by all
S. Dunstā other Authours of former ages he hath beene
S. Oswald. judged most commendable.
S. Ethel-
wolde.

105. Of S. Dunstan, Oswald, and Ethelwolde,

we

we haue before spoken, and William of Malmesbury is protuse in the prayle of each of them a part in their liues : and no meruaile, for all three were very holy men, and not only admired in England, but reuerenced abroad, and by the whole Church acknowledged for Saints : of the first, to wit S. Dunstane, inough for this matter hath beene sayd already : and of S. Oswald M. Godwin giueth him this Encomium: he was very learned and left some testimonies therof in writing, not yet perished: for the integrity also of his life and conuersation, he was much reuerenced : the greatest fault that I find in him is, that he was very earnest in setting forth that doctrine of Diuells, that debarreth men of lawfull marriage &c. many miracles are reported to haue beene done at his tombe in regard whereof the posterity would needs make him a Saint. So he. Of the third, Matthew Westminster sayth, writing of his death : Eodem anno S. Ethelwaldus migravit ad Dominum. In this yeare S. Ethelwald went to our Lord, or departed this life, & this title of Saint is giuen him by all our writers of these tymes, and M. Halls friend Henry Huntington much prayseth him saying, that he was : *F-l s. in d. a gregius Prasul, edificator sepium, auertens semitas iniquitatis, & plantans radices charitatis.* A worthy Prelate, a builder vp of the hedges of vertue, turning men from the paths of iniquity, & planting in them the root of charity : and in fine, of them all three Malmesbury writeth, that : *Micuerunt per Angliam vt lumina crederes e calo arridere sidera.* They shined ouer England as lights, in so much as you would haue thought the stars to send their comfort from heauen. So he. And so much of these.

106. But now for such Priests as had their

Y

Trulls

The in-
continent
Clergy as
the sum
of the
world co-
mended
by none.

Trulls, if you looke into the monuments of anti-
quity, what memory or mention is made of
them, you shall either find nothing at all, or
that they were the very scumme, and refuse of
the Clergy: and *M. Hall* hauing raked this im-
pure dunghill, could find but one only man to
speake for him, to wit *Henry Huntington*, who
yet hath but these words: *Hoc Concilium prohibuit*

Hunting.
in anno
1101.

uxores Sacerdotibus Anglorum, antea non prohibitas. In
deliuering of which short sentence *M. Hal* makes
vs three vntruths: for thus he writeth: *Anselme*,
« sayth that *Historian*, was the first that forbad
« marriage vnto the Clergy of *England* (and this
» was about the yeare of our Lord 1080.) til then
euer free. So *M. Hall*. But by his leaue *Hunting-*
ton doth not say that *S. Anselme* was the first that
forbad marriage to the Clergy, for *S. Dunstons*
had forbidden it more then a hundred years be-
fore: againe this was not about the yeare of our
Lord 1080. for *Huntington* himselfe expressly put-
teth it more then twenty yeares after, and this
yeare twice set down in the margent, was more
then twelue yeares before *S. Anselme* was Bishop
or had any thing to do in *England*. If he meane
1108. wherein as I confesse there was held a
Councell, so I deny that this can agree with
Huntington, who putteth it the next yeare after *K.*
Henries coronatiō, which was in the year 1100.
and lastly it is vntrue that marriage of Priestes
till then was euer free: for it is inough for the
verifying of his words (vnles *M. Hall* will haue
him to contradict himselfe, and all truth) that
in the troublesome tyme of *VWilliam* Conqueror
and his sonne *VWilliam Rufus*, who sold the Bi-
shopricks

shopricks of England for money, the Priests had gotten this liberty: which Commentary his words will well support, for truly translated they are only these: In this Councell S. *Anselme* prohibited wites to English Priests before not prohibited: for the word *before*, may signify immediatly *before*, in which tyme perhaps though they were not allowed, yet the wickednes of that King, weaknes of the Symoniacall Bishops, wanting so long their Metropolitan, and licentiousnes of the Clergy forced the better sort of Pastours to tolerate that which although they did condemne, yet could not redresse.

207. And this being the only witnes, and he, if he meane as M. *Hall* will haue him, being taken tardy in his euidence, and that both in respect of the tyme, and matter (for the first he putteth a yeare to soone, and altogether misreporteth the later) his wordes in this matter cannot preiudice our cause, vnles they were se-
Henry Huntingtons ill demeanour in his history.

conded by some better authority, of more vpry-
 right and indifferent iudgment: for this *Henry* was so far set on this marriage matter, and to impugne the aduersaryes thereof, as he seemeth quite to haue forgotten the law of a History, which requireth all truth and integrity in the things related, in both which this man was deficient: for in all S. *Dunstons* life he neuer speaketh of this matter, which yet was the chiefest matter of moment then debated: and on the other side he commendeth him who opened the fluse to let out all this puddle of impurity amongst the Clergy, I meane *Edwyn* elder Brother vnto King *Edgar*, of whome our best Historiogra-

When & by what occasion this licentious liberty entered into England. *Math. Westm. ann. 956.* phers report much villany, for which halte his Kingdome was taken from him by the insurrection of his subjects, and given to his brother: and as well for that, as other misfortunes soone after dyed, having reigned but foure yeares, of whome, as *Stow* well noteth, is left no honest memory, viles that which *Matthew Westminster* writeth of him: *Cum annis quatuor libidinosè simul & tyrannicè regnum decessisset Anglorum, iusto Dei iudicio decessit sanctus &c.* After he had toure yeares lewdly and a tyrannicall abused the Kingdome of England & by Gods iust iudgment he dyed. And consequently he was the fitter instrument to further the filthines of this sacrilegious marriage of the Priests and Clergy. For in his tyme besides the usuall incursions of forrayne enemyes from abroad, and ciuill warrs of subjects at home, where one halfe of the Realme was in armes against the other, and both out of order, as it still happeneth in such occasions, *Frequentes lites* (sayth *Osbert*) *seditiones nonnullae, varij conflictus hominum suborti, totam terram grauissimis tribulationibus concusserunt.* Frequent contentions, very many & seditions, diuers conflicts risen amongst them, & shaked the whole Land with most grieuous tribulations. So be. And heereupon as well Priests as people being apt to cast of the yoke of Ecclesiasticall and Ciuill discipline, when they saw neither the one or the other law, by reason of the present tumult and confusion of things, able to be exacted, tooke this laseiuious liberty to do what they listed: besides this I say the lewdnes of this young King added oyle to the flame, and so concurred with the wicked to discompose

*Osbert. in
vita Dun-
stani.*

discompose the Ecclesiasticall state, following the counsaile of his queane, as Malmesbury sayth: *qua tenerum iugiter obsidebat animum*, who still possessed his wanton mind, that gathering the raskalry of the land about him, *Miserrimis satellitibus subnixus*, he cast out al the Religious men of the whole kingdome, seized vpon their goods, iniuriously abuted their persons, & tyrannized ouer all the monasteries, of which Malmesbury, the house of this Authour, was made a stable, & about all he hated S. Dunstane, the chiefe pillar of the Religious, and theretore banished him into Flanders, where as Matthew VVestminster writes his wanton Counsellour laboured also to haue pulled out his eyes, but was defeated of her purpose, and all this for that the Archbishop Saint Odo, *Vir clarus ingenio*, sayth Houeden, & *virtute* *laudabilis*, *spiritu quoq; Prophetia pollens*: Famous for wisdome, renowned for vertue, endued also with the spirit of prophecy, had vpon S. Dunstans suggestion, as they imagined, separated this concubine from him, punished her againe after her returne, & excommunicated the King himselfe.

Houeden 3
anno 957.

108. Vnder this King then, and by this occasion the Clergy declining to this bestiality, none furthering it but the wicked, all the good resisting it, as was well seene in Edgars tyme, when thinges being restored to their former peace, and the Pastours had in their due regard, this abuse with great seruour, and speed was extinguished; we may conceaue how laudable the thing was which did first spring from this lawles liberty, and how shameles Henry Hunting-

Henry
Hunting-
tons yn-
sincere
manner
of wri-
ting.

ton is, who against the credit of all our best au-
thours, Malmesbury, Florentius, Honeden, Matthew
Westminster, Polidore and others, sayth, that Rex E-
dwyn non illauidabiliter Regni insulam tenuit. King E-
dwyn worthily swayed the scepter of the Land,
and lamenteth that vntimely death brake off
the course of his prosperous and ioyfull begin-
nings, whenas euen at his very entrance to
the crowne, yea euen the same day he was
crowned, he left his Nobility, and retyred to
his two concubins the mother and daughter, as
some will haue it, or elsto be naught with his
owne kinswoman, as Holinshead out of others,
from whence being perforce recalled by S.
Dunstan, this quarrell betweene the Saint and
him began, which was so followed, as there
was no end of persecuting him, till the King
had ended his life, of which this good Histori-
an hath no one word.

Henry
Hunting-
ton pray-
seth the
wicked
& forgeth
crimes in
the inno-
cent.

109. But afterwards when he recounteth
the base incontinent dealing of a Popes Legate
sent into England, who inueighed against the
incontinency of Priests in the forenoone, and
was taken with a concubine himselfe in the
after, then he could find his tongue, and after a
solemne preamble tell vs: *Res appertissima negari
non potuit, celari non decuit*, the thing was most
eident, it could not be denyed, is was not fit
to be concealed, out it must, & that in the worst
manner, the man was taken with such a lust, &
yet this thing which he maketh most eident, and
not to be denyed, is reiected by Baronius as a fable, &
that among diuers other reasons, because this
man is the first Authour thereof, so false in o-
ther

other things, so partiall in this, of which neither *William* of *Malmesbury*, nor *Florentius* his Continuer (who both were then living) do speak any one word, though the later do mentiō this *Cardinall*, and let downe all the *Canons* of the Councell, and had no reason to haue dissembled the things objected, had it beene so notorious, and publick as *Huntington* makes it, from whom all our late Protestant writers, and others also, vpon too light credit, haue borrowed, and inserted it into their histories.

Solidore
Virgill,
Holias
Stow &c.

110. And truly seeing this sole Authour alone, so to reuell in this matter, I was moued out of a curious desire to see what he was. *Bale* sayth he was a *Canon Regular* of *S. Augustins* order, and the title he beareth in the forefront of his

Henry
Hunting-
ton what
he was.

booke is, that he was *Archdeacon* of *Huntington*, of which profession and degree I did meruaile to see one so inclined to defend incontinency, and the marriage of Priests, seeing he was not married himselfe, and that all other Authours at that tyme in England, and before had condemned it; I found further after some search in the very next page, after the place cyted by *M. Hall* in his owne history, that he confesseth his Father to haue beene a Priest, and consequently as it may be thought he pleadeth but for his birth right, and the best copy hold of his inheritance: for thus he writeth of him: *Eodem anno Pater illius qui hanc scripsit historiam mortis legibus concessit &c.* The same yeare dyed the Father of him, who wrot this history, and was buried at *Lincolne*, of whome it is written.

It is probable that
his father
was a
Priest
when he
begot
him.

— *Stella cadit Cleri, splendor marces Nicolai*

Stella cadens Cleri, splendeat arce Dei.

A bad
child that
could put
no better
Epitaph
on his
Fathers
tombe.

The sense of which distich is, that the star of the Clergy was fallen, and the shining of *Nicolas* ouer cast; but he withereth that the star falling on earth may shine in heauen, and to that end desireth al Readers to pray for his soule, with an *anima eius requiescat in pace*: and in case my coniecture be true, that he begot his son *Henry* being a Priest, he had indeed great need of prayers, but of his being a *star of the Clergy*, vnles he did pennance for the same, and stood not in defence thereof, as the *irregular Chanon* his son *Henry* did, there is no cause to imagine, but rather that he was to be numbred among thole *stars*, which *S. Jude* calleth *sydera errantia*, for such men are not the *starres of the Clergy*, but the *clouds* rather and *ignominy* therof. But to digresse no further with this Authour, let vs come to some other ponderation.

3.
Ponderation.

Antiquity
and learning of
the Authors
al-leadged
for the continen-
cy of
Priests.

III. The third ponderation is taken from the Authours who haue written of this matter. *M. Hall* only cyteth *Henry Huntington*, and he also is fouly streyned to reach home: wheras for the contrary we bring his authority by whome *Christian Religion* was first planted in *England*, we bring the greatest Clerke that ever antiquity yelded vs, we bring one who liued when the bickering with *S. Dunstane* began, and what he wrot of Priests wiues, we bring *S. Anselme* when it was againe renewed, we bring the aprouance of all the best Historiographers and Ichollers of the Land, so as both our authorityes are positiue in the affirmance, far more ancient for tyme, and without comparison for excellencie more

more eminent, then any can be alleadged to the contrary: and if *Tertullians* rule be true (as *M. Hall* graunted and denyed it together in the beginning of his letter) that priority of tyme interreth infallibility of truth, then the cause is ours, and *M. Hall* is cast, or els let him produce some more ancient writers, or of such credit, as *S. Gregory*, *S. Bede*, *S. Anselme* and the like, or if authors want, to deale for a farewell more friendly with him, let him bring me for the first three hundred yeares after the arriual of *S. Augustine* into England but one Bishop, Priest, or Deacon, who was marryed, and in that state liued freely with his wife, and was so allowed, and I will rest contented, and put him to no further Alarge of trouble for prouing his *freedome*: and who seeth fer made not this my offer to be very large, in case marriage had byn as freely then permitted to Priests as it is now to Ministers, as he contendeth? And if neither authority in writing, nor example of fact can be found, and we shew both the one and other for their single life, then I trust none will be so vnequall a Iudge, and professed enemy of truth, as not to acknowledge it, appearing so plainly in her native colours, and so evidently marked with infallible certainty.

112. And it must needs be a great comfort vnto Catholiks to see Heresy haue so weake defence, to see this cause so ouerborn by vs, as you haue heard, to see on our side stand *S. Gregory* our Apostle, *S. Bede*, *S. Dunstane*, *S. Ethelwold*, *S. Oswald*, *S. Anselme*, so many Kings, Councells, Nobility, content of the Realme, continuall custom of tyme, all writers of most account, in

Al authority standeth for the single life of Priests none against it of any account or worth.

one word all the flower of authority, learning, and sanctity, which euer our Nation yielded since these broyles of the incontinent Clergy began & before also; & on the other side to see M. Hall for want of other help to lay hold on one oblcure Authour *Henry Huntington*, for tyme not very ancient, for credit small, and for the very thing he affirmeth out of him vntrue, al others disclayming from him, all pleading for vs, vnles they be such as are not worth the taking vp, and that euen vntill the tyme of *Edward the 6.* when also those who there dealt against vs, had first in another Parlamēt before pleaded for vs, and subscribed to that which afterwards they condemned. If any say for their excuse, that the later Parlements are of equall authority with the former, and that one may repeale what the other hath enacted: I answer that so it is in ciuill affayres, which depende vpon the present disposition of persons, tymes and things: for it may so fall out, that one law which heeretofore was very expedient, may be now hurtfull, or the contrary: but for matters of fayth, or things thereunto appertayning, this rule doth not hold: for as the certainty of Religion dependeth not on men, who are mutable, but vpon the sure, immouable, and euerlasting truth of Almighty God, alwayes one, alwayes invariable, so must the same also be constant, one, and vniforme in it selfe, without any change or alteration at all: neither is this fayth to be fashioned out by Parlements of particuler Nations, but if any difficulty arise therein, or in any other Ecclesiasticall affayre, the Pastours (who alone are
to

to direct the flocke of Christ) in Generall Councils are to sit iudges, and define the matter, & lay men not to intermeddle therein. This alwayes hath bene the practise of the Christian world, by this haue errors bene rooted out, vnity & purity of fayth mainteyned, the people kept in peace, the Church in esteeme, & this failing, errors, as experience hath too deerly taught vs, haue increased, herelyes without all order, or vnity haue bene multiplyed, common peace broken, holy Church contemned, the whole frame of Christianity shaken, and al things disioynted and put out of order.

113. Another ponderation may be drawn from the difficulty of this graunt for marriage in the very beginning when it was first proposed in Parliament, in the tyme of King Edward the sixth, and was so strongly oppoled, as it could find no passage, but only for the tyme past and that also not without some hard straynes, it seeming *indecorum* vnto them all to behold the Pastours as fleshly as the people, and no purity or perfection of life to be in one more then in the other, but *sicut populus, sic Sacerdos*, to be all carnall, all drowned in sensuality, al alike more corporall then spirituall, more attent to the body then soule, to pleasure then pennance, temporall emoluments, then eternall happynes: but what should they doe? deny it absolutely they could not: for the Ministers practise had preuented their hindrance, and they came provided in that behalfe, not hauing so much patience as to expect the Parlements permittance: and he had giuen them example who for place & authority

4.
Ponderation.

The first graunt for marriage of Clergy men gotten in the Parlamēt with great difficulty.

See the three Conuers. par. 2. cap. 12. §. 22. &c.

Was

Cranmer Was the chiefest among them, their Archbishop
 the first **Cranmer** I meane, the first married Metropoli-
 married tan that euer England saw, and it was to no
 Metropo- purpose to go about to restrayne the members
 litan that from the influence of the head, or where the
 euer was root was corrupted to seek to saue the branches
 in En- from infection: this also being the chiefe point
 gland. of Euangelicall liberty among them, happily re-
 newed (as *M. Hall* sayth) with the *Ghospell*, but in-
 deed was so new, as a new paire of shooes neuer
 made before, could be no newer. And this *Ghos-
 pell* was not according to *S. Matthew*, but *Martin
 Luther* as we haue shewed, and a very lasciuious
Ghospell that to satisfy the lust of these wanton
 companions, did breake all bands and promises
 made before to God of a better life.

114. But seeing afterwards all the offspring
 to tracke so constantly this path of their proge-
 nitours, necessity excluding all counsaile of fur-
 ther deliberation, and the great multitude of
 these married men all meanes of redresse, they
 were forced in the next Parliament to permit
 them all to take wiues: permit them I say, for
 approue them they did not, and that also in des-
 pite of all lawes made euer before in al Prouin-
 ciall, Nationall, & Generall Councils to the
 contrary, against all authority of man, as they
 termed it (this parliament being as you may i-
 magine of Angells) all practise of the Land, &
 whole Church for so many ages without con-
 troll of any, but Schismatikes or Heretiks, and
 now from the highest to the lowest, all Arch-
 bishops, Bishops, Chanons, Curates, and other
 Ministers of the Land, were licenced to marry,
 and

**An Ange-
 licall Par-
 lament of
 blacke
 Angells.**

and remarry before and after their ordering, to any person or persons, and to be restrayned therein no more then any other man whatloever, which was neuer seene done in any Nationall decree that euer was made in the world before these later heresy'es began: and if M. Hall thinke this my denyall too absolute, let him bring me out of all antiquity but one example, which yet he hath not done. And this perhaps togeather with the indecency of the thing it selfe, made the makers of that statute to premise this *Exordium* thereunto. As though it were not only better for the estimation of Priests & other Ministers in the Church of God, to liue chaste, sole, and separate from the company of women, and the band of marriage, but also thereby, they might the better intend to the administration of the Ghospell, and be lesse intricated and troubled with the charge of household, being free & vnburdened from the care and cost of finding wife, and children, and that it were most to be wished, that they * would willingly, and of their selues endeavour their selfe to a perpetuall chastity, & abstinence from the vse of women. So the beginning of this Statute.

anno. 2.
Eduar. 6.

* M. Hall sayth that this is impossible.

The makers of the

115. And by this you may see both what the makers of the Statute thought and wished though in this matter, and also that the impossibility of liuing a chaste life, which M. Hall so much pleadeth was not then admitted, or held to be sound doctrine: for els all these great Rabbines, who repealed in this behalfe all law of man had byn very simple men indeed to make such a perswasion for a thing impossible, and which lay not in

they permitted marriage, yet preferred chastity in Clergy men.

in the power of man to obserue, much lesse were they so impudent as to challenge the vse of former ages and generall custome of the Church, as this man no lesse fondly then falsely doth, for the true cause indeed of this permission was for that these goats who were now chosen to governe the sheep, were so wanton as they could not conteyne, but must needs out of hand in all hast haue either wiues, or rather women, and so much in a manner is insinuated when they vrge that such as cannot conteyne (as all Ministers and Apostata Priests do say they cannot) may after the *Counsaille of the Scripture* liue in holy marriage: so it pleased them to tearme their sacrilegious turpitude, and that also according to the *Counsaille of the Scripture*, which neuer counsayled any man after a solemne vow to marry, but the contrary: but now the colour or cloke which was to be cast ouer, to keep this their leachery from the sight of the simple, was that some forsooth had vowed chastity who yet were vnchast liuers, as if some married men also were not the like, and therefore by the same reason they might as well haue condemned marriage, as single life. *He that made marriage* (sayth M. Hall) *sayth it is honourable, what care we for the dishonour of those that corrupt it?* And the same demand I make

Matt. 19. in this matter, Chastity of single life is not only
1. Cor. 7. honourable, but more honourable by our Sauiours testimony, & plaine text of *S. Paul*, then
Cypr. l. de discipl. & habitu virgin. circa medium; is marriage, and *S. Cyprian* worthily sayth of Virgins, that they are, *Flos Ecclesiastici gemitus, & illustrior portio gregis Christi*: The flower of the Ecclesiasticall offspring, and the more honourable

Where
doth the
Scripture
counsaille
such as
hauemade
vowes of
chastity to
breake
theirvowes
& marry?

portion

portion of the flocke of Christ: & what care we for the dishonour of those that corrupt it? Nothing at all: we commend the thing, we condemne the abuse: as the later is damnable, so is the thing it selfe both of singular perfection, and of no such difficulty, but that we may Gods grace assisting vs very easily obserue it. But to draw to an end.

116. The last ponderation is the manner of disputing, by which M. Hall vseth to shew the continence life of the English Clergy to haue beene lately begun in S. Dunstons tyme, all his proote is in these few words. *The bickerings of our Clergy with their Dunstons teach vs how late, how repiningly, how vniustly they stooped vnder this yoke:* but this teaching he talketh of I cannot conceaue, or how out of S. Dunstons bickerings he can conclude the continency of Clergy men to haue beene lately, repiningly, vniustly imposed: for the force of this reason must rest in this, that because S. Dunstane had bickering with the Clergy about their marriages, and did make them leaue their wiues, therefore continency is not ancient, but was repiningly admitted, & vniustly imposed: if this be his meaning, by the same reason I will proue no thecues or malefactours euer to haue beene in our Countrey before the tyme of King James: for who knoweth not that the Iudges both in London, and all the Shyres of the Land, haue had euery yeare, and still haue some bickering with such people: will M. Hall thereupon thus argue, We see now with our eyes what bickering the Iudges haue with thecues and malefactours, and therby we are taught how late these people haue stooped vnder the yoke of prison, barre,

5.
Ponderation.

M. Halle
loose mā-
ner of
disputing.

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 barre, and gallowes: Ergo before these tymes it
 was free for all to robb, keele, murder and the
 like, and no penalty was euer imposed vpon
 them: where is your wit M. Hall? apply this to
 your owne words, and you shall find the argu-
 ment to be the same, or if you deny it, shew me
 the disparity.

M. Hall
 must not
 suppose
 that as
 granted
 which is
 only in
 contro-
 uersy.

117. If you say, that S. Dunstane brought in
 a new custome against the old, that, as you
 know is the point in controuersy: and how will
 you proue it out of his *bickerings*? did the delin-
 quents euer pleade prescription? did they euer
 taxe S. Dunstane with nouelty? and imposing a
 yoke neuer before borne? what ancient Author
 recordeth it? None at all. And the contrary is
 clearly euinced by that we haue layd, and their
 repyning no more inferreth their innocency, or
 excuseth their lewdnes, then the repyning of
 such as are in *Bridewell* vnder the correction of
 iustice doth proue them honest women, & that
 their punishment is lately inuented & vniustly
 inflicted. This is M. Halls last prooffe conforme
 to the rest, and with the same as he endeth his
 arguments, would I also haue ended this letter,
 but that his triumphant conclusion forceth me
 to make a brieft recapitulation of what hath
 passed in this combat betweene vs, that you
 may as in a table see both what cause there was
 he should so crow, and how that he as well as
 other of our Aduersaryes haue a speciall grace,
 when they haue proued nothing, to vaunt a-
 boue measure of their chymericall conquests:
 for if you barre them of that boasting humour,
 of lying, of rayling, of corrupting Authours
 and

and childish disputing, their pens will cast no ink, their books will be very barren, & they in short tyme for matters of controuersy will become altogether mute.

M. Halls bragging Conclusion is examined: together with a brieife Recapitulation of what before hath bene sayd.

HA VING discussed hitherto all M. Halls arguments, and deciphered their weaknes, or rather hauing shewed how they haue bene answered by others, & resumed by him without any notice of their former refutation, and that with such confident courage, as he pawneth his wife, his fidelity, his cause, & all thereon, which if truth and equity may giue sentence, he hath all forfeited: yet such is the mans misfortune, his wit being so shallow, and selfe esteeme of his owne worth and works so great, that as before he neuer more bragged the wher he had least cause, and was most ouerthrowne, so in the very end where he should haue excused the want of exact performance of what he had vndertaken, as necessarily knowing all his proofes to haue bene so disproued before, as neither altogether, or any one of them all cold subside, yet having passed the bounds of modesty by his intemperate rayling on v., and immoderate prauing of himselfe, without further reflection he rusheth on forwards, and in lieu of this excuse and humble opinion of himselfe (as there is no cause God wot why he should haue any other) he cometh aloft with an *Id triumphe*,

*M. Halls
pride and
vanity.*

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& like a conquerour in his triumphant chariot, with lawrell, crowne and scepter in hand, talketh of nothing els, but conquest, victories, subduing Aduersaries, reaching and defending the truth; which yet in this bravery, he so betrayth, as even in this triumphant Conclusion which he maketh, there is nothing he hath that includes not in it some notorious falsehood; observing in some sort the rules of art which will haue the beginning and end of a worke to haue some proportion, and connexion together, and so as he began bluntly with nine lies at once so will he end with as many to speake the least: for thus he writeth.

2. I haue (sayth he) I hope fetcht this truth far inough, & deduced it low inough, through many ages, to the midst of the rage of Antichristian tyranny: there left our liberty, there began their bondage. Our liberty is happily renewed with the Gospell: what God, what his Church hath euer allowed, we do enioy, wherein we are not alone: the *Greeke Church* as

M. Hall
for a fare
well gives
vs a fardle
of vn-
truths.

as large for extent as the *Roman* (and in some parts
of it better for soundnes) do thus, and thus haue
euer done. Let Papists and Athiests say what
they will, it is safe erring with God, and his
purer Church. So he. And to all this vaunting
there needeth no other answer, then that of
the Wise man: *Nubes & ventus & pluuia non sequen-
tes, vir gloriosus & promissa non complens*. As the cloud
and wind and no raigne following, so is the
man who vaunteth much, and performeth not
his promises: for all these waite words, are but
clouds without water, vaine blasts of presum-
ptuous pride, promising much and performing

Proverb.

25.

nothing

nothing : and M. Hall in his long trauell is but like vnto one who maketh a great iourney to the sea side, to fetch home salt water in a syue, or to those of whome the Prophet speaketh, who sowed much and reaped little, and put all their gaine in *sacculum pertusum*, a purse pierced through the bottome, from which all did fall out that was put in : for if M. H. will rightly cast vp his accounts, he shall find that he hath gayned as much by all his labour for his cause, as if he had said still and sayd nothing, though for his credit this he had gotten, to be held a very vsincere and superficiall writer : for he wanteth learning to frame an argument, reading to find the truth, modesty in his termes, and conscience in telling so many lyes which are as thicke with him as hops in harvest.

3. And whosoever will consider what before hath beene sayd, will see the vayne hope of this man to vanish like smoke : he sayth that he hath fetched this truth far enough, and deduced it low enough, through many ages, euen to the midst of the rage of Antichristian tyranny : o how much is truth for her deliuerance out of bondage beholding vnto M. Hall? so so potent an Advocate? *Scilicet liberanda veritas* (sayth Tertullian) *expectabat Marcionem*. This conquest of fetching truth so far was reseeded to these tymes, to M. Halls trauels, to his learned pen, but in this his valiant exploit of fetching home truth he should not haue forgot that rule thereof delivered by S. Ambrose, and was much worth his noting : *Veritatis* (sayth this Father) *est regula, vt nihil facias commendandi tui causa, quo minor alius fiat*. That is the rule of truth that you do nothing in your own commendation wher-

Tertul. in
Marcione

Amb. lib.
de Offic.
cap. 24.

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 by another may be abased, as heere *M. Hall* doth,
 whiles in prayling himselfe for fetching truth
 so far, of his happy renewing of his liberty by
 the Ghospell, of erring with the purer Church,
 and the like, he contumeliously calleth the Ca-
 tholicke Church and the gouernement thereof
Antichristian tyranny, and most basely giues as it
 were the defyance to *Papists* and *Atheists*, which
 tearmes needed not, were all to cleare on his side
 as he would haue it, but that the leuity and ma-
 lignity of his distempered brayne, where reason
 fayled would force it out with rayling: and he
 thought his owne praise too little vnles it went
 combyned with our contumely. In this I con-
 fesse his faculty is better then in proving the
 continuance of the marriage of Clergy men,
 which notwithstanding his brags, hath beene
 found to be to hard at aske for his weake ability.

4. And when he tells vs, how far this
 truth is fetcht, and how low deduced through
 many ages, I must truly tell him, that he hath
 performed nosuch matter; the primitiue church
 the ensuing ages, the later tymes, all authority
 of any weight or worth are against him, vntill
 the tyme of *Edward the sixth*, the freedome he
 now possesseth was neuer possessed in England,
 no Bishops were marryed, no Priests but of
 lewd life euer attempted it, abuse as tymes gaue
 occasion crept in, but neuer had publike allow-
 ance. And if he meane by the tyme of *Antichri-*
stian tyranny the tyme of *Gregory the seauenth*, then
 is his impudency very singular to say, that he
 hath cleared it till his tyme, when as the single
 life of Clergy men was more in vse in the *Latin*
 Church euer before that tyme, then whiles he
 liued

M. Hall
 striueth as
 it should
 seeme to
 utter ma-
 ny vn-
 trutthes in
 a few lines.

liued : and as these are very grosse vntruths , so are the rest which follow as after, I shall shew, to wit that, that there left his liberty, matrimoniall I meane , that there began our bondage, that his liberty is renewed by the Gospell, for in our Gospell we find no such matter, that he enioys what God, what his Church hath euer allowed, which is a double lye or two lyes in one line : that in this his extensue liberty he is not alone, that the *Greeke Church* is as large for extent as the *Roman* , that in some things for soundnes better, that thus it doth as they doe in *England*, that thus they haue euer done, are foure other falshoods : and in fine there is nothing true in all this conclusion, as it shall appeare by the ensuing recapitulatiō of what before hath beene proued .

5. Yet this by the way I must tell him, that al the soundnes he meaneth of the *Greek Church* is, for that it alloweth that married men may be made Priests, though it neuer allowed any Priests to be made married men, much lesse any Bishop : for els who so will read their confession in the censure, which *Hieremias* their Patriarke made vpon hereticall articles sent him by two Lutherans out of *Germany*, *Martinus Crusi-* *Censura Ecclesie Orientalis .*
us, and *Iacobus Andrea*, he shal find for the number of Sacraments, real presence, vnbloudy sacrifice, justification by workes, traditions, free will, The confession of the *Greek Church*,
monasticall life, praying to Saints, the vse of holy images, praying for the dead, and other points very Catholike assertions, agreeing with vs, and condemning the Protestants: so as if *M. Hall* (poore silly soule) will make himselfe an arbiter to iudge of the soundnes of Churches,

and haue his cause to be holpen, for that the Greeke Church in one thing fauoureth him against vs, we may (if we thought such arguments worth the making) better therof inferre the soundnes of our Church against him, with which the Greeke not in one only, but in very many points, and those also the greatest & most essentiall of Christian Religion, doth agree: & truly omitting the error of the Proceſſion of the holy Ghost, and ridiculous Supremacy of that Patriarcke, condemned as well by our Adversaries as by vs, in the rest they seem Catholiks, at the least their positions are such: and albeit in some particuler customs they differ from vs, yet are not those of such great moment, but that with vnity of fayth a perfect peace and accord might be made betwene vs, if all will stand to that which their chiefest Patriarck in soopen a confession hath taught and declared. But to come to M. Hall.

6. He vaunted much in the beginning of his letter of the Scriptures, and told vs, that if *God should be iudge of this Controuersy, it were soon at an end*, & therefore he passed not *what he heard men at Angells say, while he heard him say, let him be the husband of one wife*: but the prooffe this diuine authority hath much sayled him, and no place in any Prophet or Apostle hath decided the same: and such as this poore man hath brought are but *crambe yecocke*, cole worts twice or thrice soden: answered I meane & reanswered by Catholiks, especially by Cardinall Beſſarmine, and the solutions deeply dissembled, such a worthy wight is this writer: and it hath beene shewed not one text or citation he hath brought taken in

their

No diuine
authority
for the
marriage
of Ecclesi-
astical
men.

their true sense and meaning, to make for his purpose: as for example of the doctrine of Diuels forbidding marriage, of the Bishop being the husband of one wife, that marriage is honourable, and the bed vndefiled, of the Apostles carrying their wiues about the world with the, with others of the old Testament, all which how they are by him either streyned, misinterpreted, or not rightly vnderstood, hath beene at large declared in their due places; and his two brutish Paradoxes also fully refelled, that the vow of Chastity is vnlawfull, that it is impossible, and that by the excellency of the vertue vowed, eminency ouer marriage, perswasions of the Fathers thereunto, the sharp rebuke and punishment of the transgressours, the wickednes of the marriage of votaryes, and that none but Heretikes euer maintayned it: and further at large is proued the foresayd vow to be most laudable, and for performance to include no impossibility at all.

7. To this is added the rigour of the Ciuill law in punishing the delinquents in this kind, very ancient and austere, which seuerity supposeth the obseruance to be in the power of the maker, as it is in the power of others not to steale, commit a livery, and other like offences, in which if they transgresse, no Iudge will excuse their fault as proceeding out of any defect of ability to refrayne, but supposing that as knowne and graunted by all, punish them for doing such acts which they were able to auoid, & by the law of God, Nature and Nations were bound not to commit, and hauing committed deserue to be chastized. After this the constitu-

tion of the Apostles, and what other prooffe is brought for their practise are discusſed, what *Caietan*, *Pius*, and *Panormitan* haue layd to the contrary is answered, and in fine it is euinced most clearly, the Apostles, excepting *S. Peter*, not to haue marryed, and in case they had, euen by the verdict of *M. Halls* owne Authours, after their calling to the Apostolicall dignity, neuer more to haue knowne their wiues, much lesse to haue carryed them in pilgrimage all the world over with them, as these men (Ministers I meane that cannot be long from their wiues, and therefore would haue the Apostles to be as weak as themselves) do fancy and surmize.

8. Hereof it followeth, if *M. Hall* will not mistake the state of the question, that he hath not fetched this truth of his far inough: for from the Apostles he findeth, he fetcheth nothing that can auaille him, and so reacheth not home if he speake as he seemeth of time, though for place of all au-like a wilde wanderer he haue trauct *Greece*, *Egypt*, *Africke*, and other coasts of *Europe*, and returned as wise as he was when he went forth. Of the next ensuing ages for foure hundred years he cyteth but three Fathers, *Origen*, *S. Cyprian*, *S. Athanasius*, the first hath nothing to the purpose, the second is very grossly abused, the third mistaken, not any one or all together make any thing for him: much he is and indeed too much in the fact of *Paphnutius* recounted by *Socrates*, for he corruply setteth it down to his aduantage against the mind and meaning of his Authours. And the thing is fully answered and shewed either to be false, or not to make so much for *M. Hall* as he would seeme to haue it; the names he addeth

M. Hall
destitute
of all au-
thority of
the anciē
Father.

addeth after of married Priests and Bishops are partly false, partly true, altogether impertinēt, & plainly shew this Epistler not to vnderstand the thing he treateth of, but to rouse at randome & in many words to say nothing to the matter.

9. Not content with Priests and Bishops, he commeth to Popes, and wil needs giue them a singular priuiledge: for he will haue Popes to haue begotten Popes, and the children to haue succeeded their Fathers in the Pontificall Sea, as Kings sonnes do their parents in that Crowne and kingdom, al are lyes taken out of the *Chaffe*, but rathred vpon *Gratian*, and heere clearly refuted as counterfeite: then he sheweth out of *Socrates*, what some Bishops did, whether Heretiks or Catholiks he sayth not, nor yet of what place, but being himselfe a Grecian borne, and brought vp in *Constantinople*, where no Patriarke was euer knowne to haue married, or to haue vsed afterwards his wife, which is our question, he sayth, that all the famous Priests or Bishops of the East obserued the same custome, not compelled thereunto by any law (sayth he) though not a few Bishops did the contrary, and it may wel be imagined these Bishops not to haue byn of the best, and their example could not make this custome vsuall, much lesse vniuersall in the Greeke Church, as hath beene shewed out of *S. Hierome*, *S. Epiphanius*, *S. Leo*. And truly for Bishops to haue knowne their wiues in that state which *Socrates* auoucheth, was neuer there lawfull, no not in the Trullan Synod as you haue seene: and it was no sincere dealing in *M. Hall* to make this hereticall historian seeme to speake of all the Bishops of Greece, whose words are plain

Popes begotten,
lyed, and
Socrates
abused.

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to the contrary and expressely mention some particular only.

10. From particulars proofs he comes to more generall, and vrgeth the Council of Trullū and therein he much bestirreth himselfe, but as it falleth out with bad brokers that buy and sell and leese by the exchang so M. Hall after this labour euen by his owne verdict is proued and proclaymed *saythles*, and the Councell at large is discussed, & proued neuer to haue allowed leaue to any Clergy man in holy orders to marry, howsoeuer some married men were ordered to be Priests, but neuer to be Bishops: and this being but a Nationall Councell, vnlawfully assembled, neuer wholly approued, cannot prescribe lawes to the whole Church: and M. Halls sanctifying the same, and making it a *Generall*, because it fauoured marriage (to speake nothing of his lyes) argueth in him more loue to his wife, then care he had to see or seeke out the truth: and notwithstanding it had beene such, yet had he lost much more to his cause, then gained therby, as is declared in many particulars, of the reall presence, sacrifice, worshipping of holy images, especially the Crosse, the holy Chrisme, power of Priests to remit sinnes, and the like: yea euen in that very cause for which it is brought and vrged it maketh against him, so little heed doth M. Hall take of what he writeth. Againe presently after he doth contradict his owne authorities, and will for seauen hundred yeares haue nothing but open freedome, when as out of the Councell he should haue inferred the cōtrary, because then this freedom in part was first grāted, & neuer permitted before.

The Council of Trullum.

11. After

11. After this Council, as if therewith he had opened *Acolus* his den, followes a boylterous blast of raging words, wherein for want of other matter, this honelt man chargeth vs with *blemishing, burning, blotting, cutting, and tearing* of the *Trullan* Canon out of the Councils, and that against the *evidences of Greeke copyes*, against *Gratian*, against *pleas of antiquity*, and which most of all pinceth, against the marriage of Ministers, and Ecclesiastical persons: but all this storme is soon asswaged, because it had no other cause then the meer ignorance, & malice of him who raised it, and this Canon of his generall Council without all *blemish, blot, fire or sword* is found to be entire in our copies, Greeke and Latin, albeit the decree be not so flat, *howsoever confirmed by authority of Emperours*, but that it abides a denyall, yea is proued Schismaticall, & the second Pope *Steuens* distinguishing vpon the point, as he will haue it, is absolutely without any distinction proued to be a lye, and the Canon fathered on him to agree rather to *Steuens* the Subdeacon father to Pope *Osins* and *Deusdedit*, then to any Pope of that name, though *M. Hall* be very peremptory and resolute therein: but his words be no oracles, or proue for the most part any thing els, but either the vanity, malice, or ignorance of the speaker.

12. Which well appeareth in a heape of demands, which follow immediatly vpon the former charge, discharged long agoe by *Bellarmino*, which all bewray the weaknes of the writer, as hath before beene shewed in euery particular: and as mad an inference he maketh after when by a *non sequitur* he concludeth saying: *So then we differ not from the Church in this, but from the*
Romish

M. Halls poore man vnderstandeth not himselfe: for
Non sequi- when he sayth, *we differ not from the Church*, what
bur. Church doth it mean? either the whole Catho-
 like Church, or some particuler member? if the
 whole, then how doth he exclude the Roman,
 with which all *Europe* and *Africke*, the greatest
 part of *Greece* and all *Aegypt* did agree? If of a
 particuler branch or member, then how doth
 he say: *we differ not from the Church*, when as he
 differeth euen from that very Church on which
 he would seeme most to rely, the *Greeke* I mean;
 for as hath beene shewed to *M. Halls* cost, if he
 esteeme the losse of his fidelity for such, of foure
 things defined in that Councell, that three are
 against him, and yet so blind a doctour he is, as
 he can discerne no difference, but as though
 there were perfect agreement in all thinges,
 he sayth: *we differ not from the Greeke Church*, but
from the Latin, & as well he may say that a man &
 a horse do not differ in any thing, because they
 agree in this, that either of them have one head
 though in other matters there be neuer so large
 and manifold differences betweene them.

13. I let passe his vntruths before detected
 whereof this was one, that for seauen hundred
 yeares there was nothing but freedome, which
Vntruths if it be not spoken *per antiphrasin*, is to grosse a lye
by heaps. as hath beene delared: and that this scuffling
 began in the 8. age, as if the continent life of
 the Clergy had then newly entred, or sought
 to find entrance, when as still it had beene on
 foot and full possession before, as by the defini-
 tiue sentences of so many Councells gathered in
Asia, *Europe*, and *Africke* is demonstrated, and the
 contra-

contrary by M. Hall is without all prooffe or probability affirmed, though he streyne far and forge a text of the third Gregory to this purpose, and fouly mistake S. Isidore, and then vpon no other ground, but his owne error and oversight, most pitifully exclaime against vs, with I know not what outrageous crime committed to our perpetuall shame, whome he calleth *his iuggling Aduersaries*, and will haue vs deale worse then our Diuell: but this shame I haue shaken off from vs, & it must rest on himselfe, and all the iuggling is resolved to this, that M. Hall cannot see that which lyeth open before his eyes, and therefore as he is suspicious thinketh it by some iuggling deuise to be taken away. Alas (poore M. Hall) I pittie your ignorance, but condemne your malice, sayne you would byte, but wanting teeth you can but only barke: you esteeme your selfe a gallant man when you rayle at our doing or doctrine, but your wit is so weake, and will so wicked, as the later which is blind and should be guyded by the former, only directeth your pen, and sheweth your iudgement and learning to be alike, little I meane in respect of the desire you haue to do vs hurt, in case you were able. God forgie you, and send you a better mynd.

14. There followeth another fundamental prooffe which is so potent, that M. Hall will be cast in his cause if it do not answere all cauills, satisfy all Readers, and conuince all not willfull aduersaries: and this forsooth is a learned and vehement epistle of S. Valeri Epistle. cus vnto Pope Nicholas the first, in which we see (saith this blind man) how iust, how expedient, how ancient this liberty is, and not only that, but therewithall also the feeble and injurious grounds of forced continen-

The fable
of S. Huld-
dericks
Epistle.

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continency, read it (sayth he) and see whether you can
desire a bet ter Aduocate. I haue done his friend M.
VVhiting that fauour as to read it for him, and
I see this Aduocate in writing to the first. Ni-
colas to haue bene as blind as M. Hall: for in
cale S. Vdalricus had written it (as it is euinced
that he did not) he had written it more then 50.
yeares after the partyes death, whome he did
write it vnto, and more then twenty yeares be-
fore himselfe who wrote it was borne: and
therefore I desire in M. VVhings name a better
Aduocate, that may plead after the vsuall man-
ner of other men, and not write letters before he
haue either body or soule, eyes to see, tongue to
speake, or hands to write, and then lend them
not to the liuing but to the dead, and in the cō-
tents to speake the truth, and not tell vs tales of
six thousand heads found in one mote, with o-
ther the like impertinencies before refuted: and
finally I must tell M. Hall, that the cause is very
weakly defended, that relyeth on such rotten
grounds of forged fictions, and if he had esteem-
ed it to be of any worth, he would neuer haue
made hazard thereof vpon such foolcryes: if he
be as prodigal of his wealth, as he is of his wife,
cause, credit, and fidelity, his children shall not
be overcharged with any rich inheritance
which he is like to leaue them, for he will be
sure to liue and dye a beggar.

15. In this counterfeit epistle there is no
antiquity set downe for M. Halls carnall liberty,
neither can we espy therein the feellenes of the ground
of forced continency, because we force none there
vnto, but compell such as without all inforce-
ment out of their owne free and deliberate ele-
ction

tion haue vowed it, to the obseruance of their
vowes, which this letter as lawfull doth allow,
though we may not allow this liberty to M. Hall
to change the name of *Vdalricus* into *Volusianus*,
nor to authorize it from them that haue men-
tion thereof, as *Aeneas Silvius*, nor yet from such
as in case they haue some mention, are themselues
of no credit, as *Gaspar Hedio*, *Iohn Fox*, or such like
fablers, nor finally to vaunt of a happy plea and
triumphant conquest, where neuer word was
spoken, or stroke giuen, or thing done more then
in the idle fancy of some newfangled Ghospel-
lers, howsoeuer this wise man telvs that heer-
upon this liberty blessed the world for 200.
yeares after, but I haue at one dath bated one
hundred, and fifty more at another, and that
from the warrant of his owne words, and pro-
ned this *Plea*, if euer there had been any such as
there was not, to haue beene very vnlucky, as
wel for the discredit of the maker as ouerthrow
of the matter, and that in so short spacc as hath
been before set downe.

16. And because this modest man rayles
at the seauenth *Gregory* for vitterly ruining the
marriages of Priests, and makes him the most
mortall enemy that euer the vow-breakers had
(which I impute to his great honour, as it is al-
so to be reuiled by heretiks) I haue at large de-
fended him, and his whole contention with
Henry the Emperour, and shewed how constant-
ly he behaued himselfe in this fluttish busines:
and although M. Hall would sayne haue him to
be amongst the first parents of such as suppressed
the marriages of Clergy men, yet the truth is,
that before his tyme these marriages were neuer
thought

Of Grego-
ry the 7.
Nicholas
the 2. and
Leo the
9.

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thought vpon in *Germany*, but then the Clergy
brake forth first into that intollerable beastlines;
and the like is proued by *Nicholas* the second (for
the first had neuer any thing to do in that con-
trouersy) and *Leo* the ninth, whose decrees are
only against concubines and harlots of in-
continent Priests, without any mention of wiues,
which in their times were not any where allow-
ed or perhaps so much as thought vpon: and it
may seem a wonder to any who knoweth not the
custome of Heretiks to see one to claime pres-
criptiō of tyme for the marriage of Clergy men,
that cannot bring one Canon, one Nationall
decree, one direct authority of any ancient Fa-
ther for seauen hundred years together, and af-
ter that tyme to alledge a meere patched prooue
of a schismatical Conuenticle, which more hur-
teth then helpeth his cause, and yet to brag that
for all that tyme there was nothing but marri-
age, nothing but liberty, no vows, no chastity:
but these are the vsuall pangs of hereticall inso-
lency.

17. Diuers other points vpon this occasi-
on are discussed, as the deposition of *Gregory* the
seauenth feigned to be made in the Councell of
Vormes, and that for separating man and wife: but
there was no deposition made, no separation
mentioned. Then whether *Gods will* (which
this man still supposeth to stand for the in-
continent vow-breakers or the Popes willfulness was
sought therein: and lastly, whether the broyles
betweene *Henry* and *Gregory* were about this
matter, and what flocke it was that was so af-
flicted by the Popes censures as *Anastine* repor-
teth, which was not indeed any flock of Christ,
for

for such still adhered vnto their renowned Pa-
stour, kept their vowes, and were not shaken
with that tempest: but of a few stincking im-
pure goates, giuen ouer to all lust and leachery,
whome neither feare of God, nor shame of men,
nor vow though neuer so solemne, nor band
though neuer so strong was able to conteyne.

18. Touching our English Clergy M. Hall
is very briefe, and hath scant six lines in histext
thereof, yet as few as they be, they contradi^{The En-}
the Comment he maketh on them in his mar-^{glish Cler-}
gent: for in the Text the bickering began with
S. Dunstane, in the margent with S. Anselme: in
the Text we learne out of our owne historyes,
how late, how repiningly, how vniustly the Clergy stooped
vnder this yoke by S. Dunstane: in the margent S.
Anselme was the first that euer forbade marriage to the
Clergy of England, till then euer free. If euer free till
then, how came it to passe, that S. Dunstane
more then a hundred years before that tyme had
made the Clergy so repiningly and vniustly to stoop
vnder the yoke of continency or single life? how is he free
that hath his neck in the yoke? If S. Dunstane
made them stoop a hundred years and more be-
fore S. Anselme, then truely can it not be sayd that
S. Anselme was the first, that euer forbad marria-
ge, or that vntill this tyme it had beene alwayes
free to marry. Of what credit his two Authors
alleadged are, is there declared, and further out
of S. Gregory, Bede, VVolfstane, Anselme, Malmesbury
&c. out of Nationall Councils, and other proof
it is shewed, our English Clergy in the first pla-
tation, in the continuance, and alwayes in ge-
nerall to haue beene continent vntil the tyme of
King Edward the sixt, though sometymes in the

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troubled state of the Land, in some places, this
beastlines began, but was neuer publickly al-
lowed: neyther can M. Hall, or his two Authors
Fox and *Bale*, shew any one publicke decree, any
one Canon of Councell, any one authentick
Charter or Record of so much as any one single
Bishop extant to the contrary.

The par-
ticularity
of M. Halls
vaunt is
briefly ex-
amined.

19. All which being thus declared, and as
occasion serued the vniforme practise of all the
Christian Church in *Asia*, *Europe*, and *Africke*
shewed to stand for vs, and the very Authors of
any account brought by M. Hall himselfe to the
contrary to be more ours then his, as well for the
Apostles themselves and Apostolicall tymes, as
also for the ensuing ages after; M. *VVhiting* may
see the truth of this Thrasonicall vaunt that M.
Hall maketh, when he telleth him for a farewell,
that he hath *setcht this truth far inough*. For before
K. *Edward* the sixth (not far off God wot) he can
fetch nothing to proue the large liberty now
vsurped by our English Clergy, if the married
Ministers with their wiues may so be tearmed:
with their wiues I say, because their wiues are
as much Clergy women as they Clergy men, &
in one word haue a true calling to teach, preach
& minister their Sacraments as their husbands
haue. And when this man out of his wandring
imaginatiō further adioyneth, *that he hath deduced*
it low inough through many ages, to the middst of the rage
of Antichristian tyranny; I must tell him that he hath
made no other deduction, the of his own igno-
rance, lyes & folly, which without breach or in-
termission like an enriere thrid are begun, and
followed to the end of his letter: & all the rage of
Antichristian tyranny he speaketh of, is nothing els,
but

but the outrageous rayling of a Phantastical lycophant, who for want of learning, and truth is torced to talke of that he doth not vnderstād, to confirme one lye by another, to mistake what he should proue, and to forget all modesty.

20. *There left* (sayth he) *our liberty, there began their bondage.* Where M. Hall do you meane? In *Terra Florida*, *Virginia*, or *Vtopia*? For the word (there) is referred to place, and not to tyme, or if you will abusiuely take it from tyme, I demaund whē this licentious liberty for the marriage of Priests began to be restrayned? If (as before you signified) vnder the first and second *Nicholas*, vnder the 9. *Leo*, and 7. *Gregory*, your owne *Trullan* Councell before these tymes is against you, which forbids your Bishops to marry at all, or keep company with their wiues, & would permit no Priest to marry. And that no Priest might be married, I haue cyted in the end of the second Paragraffe many Councells out of all the coasts of Christendom. And whereas he further addeth *our liberty is happily renewed with the Ghospell*, it is hard to define what liberty, happines, what Ghospell he meaneth; and of what God, what Church he talketh, when he sayth: *what God; what his Church hath euer allowed, we do enjoy*: for this Church is som inuisible castle in the ayre, neuer seene on the earth, and this *VVe*, is equiuocall, and may include *Lutherans*, *Caluinists*, *Protestants* or *Puritans*: & let it include all or some one branch among all of these sects, yet is the lye notorious: for in all the Christian Church, this liberty hath euer beene banished.

21. *The Greeke Churches* (sayth he) *do thus, and thus haue euer done*: if he meane as he seemeth that

*See censura
Orientalis
Ecclesiae c.
vltim. in
principio
capitis.*

these Churches vse the liberty of the English Church renewed by this later Gospel, it is too grosse an vntruth, and yet not proued by any one authority of the Fathers, nor yet of his sacred Trullan Conuenticle: and M. Hall doth wel to name the Greek Schismatical Church of this day, which yet cometh short in this very point of the English, for in all his Letter he hath not brought one ancient authority for the Churches of Europe and Africke, more then one only of S. Cyprian touching the exaple of Numidicus, which if any sparke of shame be left, may make him blush to thinke vpon. All the rest are broken peeces out of S. Vdalricus, Gratian, Panormitan, Pius 2. Caietan & others, cyther in themselves counterfeit, or with the controuersy in hand nothing at all coherent.

*M. Halls
impertinencies.*

22. Wherefore to end this matter with him for whome I began it, I hope now, good Syr, that you see M. Halls valour to haue been valued by your selfe at too high a rate, & euen there to haue sayled where you esteemed most of his ability; in this matter I meane, where besides meer babling what hath he proued? how many words hath he vsed & cyted authorities onely to cast a clowd vpon the truth, and to hide it from the eyes of his simple Reader? Many are his braggs, his citations thicke, his promises great, his confidence singular, but his wit is weake, his ability small, his performance nothing. After his first entrance with lyes which continually increase, he mistaketh the state of the question, and talketh of many things not denied by his aduersary, not in controuersy between him and vs, he bringeth in a bedrole of names of such

Bishops

Bishops as had beene marryed, but proueth not that they vsed their wiues when they were Bishops, or euer marryed againe after their wiues were dead, as *Robert Abbots* late of *Salisbury* did in great haste with *Mistresse Dike*. And what doth this conclude? he bringeth authorities to proue that chastity is not of the substance of the order, not annexed by diuine law expressly set downe in the Scripture, & is this for him? It is against vs? He taxeth *Nicholas* the 2. and *Leo* the ninth for condemning of the marriages of Priests, who only decreed against their concubins, without any mention of their matrimony: and what can he inferre therof? In fine either he cyteth weake and counterfeited authorities, or els mistaketh most pittifully the places which he doth cite, and so in saying much, concludeth from the Fox to the ferne bush, from the apple to the oyster, from the full Moone in March to the fresh flowres of May.

23. On the other side I leaue you to see the authorities I cyte either to refute his assertions or to confirme the contrary: the vse of auncient tymes we must take from ancient writers, they as you haue seene, are wholly ours, they neuer allowed Bishops to beget children, to marry againe in that state, neither do their authorities patronize the marriage of the Clergy, but condemne it: and in case some were marryed before their ordination, yet after they were no longer husbands, but lived apart from their wiues, as *S. Hierome* doth witnes; & I leaue you to determine whether of vs both hath further fetched, or deduced lower the cause he defendeth, who hath gone through more ages, places, Churches, who hath

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the generall consent to stand for him? He who can shew the custome of al the Christian world, Europe, Africke, and Asia, and that without contradiction for the two first, & best authority that can be brought for the other, or he who out of one third part culleth a small parcell only, late for time, for extent not large, & that not proved but by heretiks, not procured but by such as endeauoured to make tumult garboyl & seditiō in the Church; and then further whether without the liberty of a lye he may be sayd to challeng the practise of the Christian Church, or liberty of the Ghospell?

Concil.
Cartha. 2.
cap. 2.

24. Finally the single life of Clergy men as in the example of the Apostles who lett their wives was first began, so from age to age in the vniuersall Church without intermission hath still gone on; as the practise thereof both for tyme, place, persons may truely be termed Catholik or vniuersal, which as a thing vndoubted of was so far forth in the 2. Coucell of Carthage acknowledged, as therein the Fathers assembled did say (as I for an vpsshot say also vnto all Catholike Priests) *Quod Apostoli docuerūt, & ipsa seruauit antiquitas, nos quoq; custodiamus.* And then immediatly they adioyne: *Ab vniuersis Episcopus dictum est omnibus, placet vt Episcopi, Presbyteri & Diaconi, vel qui sacramenta contrahant, pudicitia custodes etiam ab vxoribus se abstineāt.* So this Councell against the liberty, Ghospell, & al ages of M. Halls deduction. I hope he will be more fauourable to this Synod, then to put it vnder the rage of Antichristian tyranny, & that he will not for the loue of his own trull be so base, as to prefer the Trullan Coucell before it, because this is far more ancient, & without comparison much

much more authentical the that: & these words hauing been extant in this Councell for a 1000. years and more, ther was yet neuer one found so far without aforehead, as to check them as false, to condemne them as erroneous, or to rayle at them as *Antichristian*; much lesse so impudent to contradict them, as to deny that euer the Apostle so taught, or that euer antiquity did so practise, vntles it be such who mak no other rule of beliefe but the Kings Purple, or their owne pleasure, as in this particuler is most euident.

25. For in K. Henryes tyme it was against the law of God for Priests to marry; in K. Edwards against the same law to forbid marriage. In K. Henryes dayes only because the King would so haue it, the Supremacy was by solempne Oath allowed, and accepted, and that proued againe & againe by the word of God: when as yet all other Sectaryes out of our precincts, as wel *Caluinists*, *Lutherans*, *Anabaptists*, and others, from the same word disputed, vrged, exclaymed against it, & still do, as a monstrous, vsurped, & vnlawfull title. And now vnder his Maiesty the Protestants themselues haue so pared & minced it, as shortly if they hold on, we shall see it brought to nothing, which yet in the beginning was so eagerly defended, and that with the effusion of so much blood, and other cruelty as if it had beene the only mayne Article of our saluation: such is the base seruile nature of Heretikes to turne their sayles to euery wind, and not to care what they beleeue, so they beleeue. *Athanas. ep. ad solit. vlt.*
not that which they should: *Non enim* sayth S. *ad solit. vlt.*
Athanasius, *sinceriter ad verbum Dei accesserunt, sed tam agent.*
ad omnia tanquam Chameleontes transformantur: semper in fine.

376 *An Answer to M. Halls Apology,*
mercenary eorum qui earum operā requirunt, non veritatē
pro scopo habent, sed veritati voluptatem anteponūt. So he
of the Arians: & as truly might he haue sayd it
of all the Authors of these late Sects & schismes
Luther, Cranmer &c. and of all other Heretikes in
generall, who as the same Father sayth of such
as were about Constantius the Arian Emperour:
Ibid. *Cerebrum in calcaneis depressum habent,* haue their
wit, not in their heads but, in their heeles, and
will see nothing but that which maketh for
their owne pleasure and content: as M. Hall for
the single life of Clergy men, could not find a-
ny thing in the Monuments of the ancient Fa-
thers, but for marriage of Priestes nothing els
but full freedome; whereas if his braynes had
beene in his head, he could not but haue found
all authority of any weight or worth to be a-
gainst him, as before hath in part been shewed.
And if in this Letter there haue beene any de-
fault, that which followeth in the next Para-
graffe will make supply, wherein I shall shew
him so ignorantly to conceaue, so falsly to set
downe our opinions, so foolishly to confirme
his owne, so to outface notorious lyes, so to
contradict himselfe, so to rayle and reuell, so to
talke at randome, as if his braynes be not in
his heels, you will at the least see and confesse
also, that he hath very little, or none at all left
him in his head.

FINIS.

Faults escaped in the printing.

In the *Advertisment* fol. 3. lin. 2. for Stout, read Clout.
Ibid. for slowly read clouterly.

Page	Line	Fault	Correction.
47.	32.	Theodous	Theodorus
57.	14.	declayme	disclayme
65.	27.	after	vpon
67.	26.	profits	perfits
70.	22.	is it	it is
72.	6.	dele	if
78.	32.	aduowtresse	aduowterers
84.	32.	my	me
87.	2.	highly	high
91.	17.	dele	the
98.	31.	confesse	so confesse
99.	25.	Oecumeniall	Oecumenicall
100.	29.	would	will
133.	15.	dele	of
137.	26.	had pigs	and pigs
138.	32.	aspe ^{xi}	aspe ^{xi} s
159.	23.	as	a
161.	16.	all	atall
173.	16.	promised	premisses
179.	25.	tropheam	tropheum
202.	after Imagebreakers, adde, in the East, as he had no leasure to call Councells, being &c.		
225.	34.	deaconish	deaconship
238.	14.	glosse	glasse
250.	24.	as	and
279.	17.	dele	no
294.	22.	and	of
312.	4.	whole	old
<i>Ibid.</i> after willfullnes, adde, for that cannot be sayd to be the willfullnes of &c.			
322.	27.	had wiues	had had wiues
Ibi.	27.	genuisse	genuissent
328.	26.	why	which
349.	12.	As though	Although
350.	9.	rather	other

FINIS.